

THE ANGLO-IRISH ELEMENT
IN
THE SPEECH OF THE SOUTHERN SHORE
OF NEWFOUNDLAND

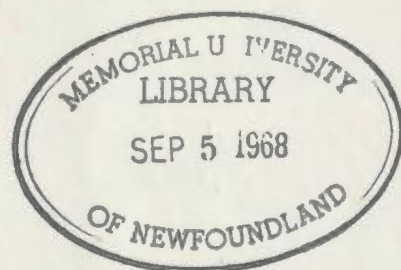
CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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VIRGINIA M. DILLON

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THE ANGLO-IRISH ELEMENT
IN
THE SPEECH OF THE SOUTHERN SHORE
OF NEWFOUNDLAND

by

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A THESIS

submitted to the Faculty of the Department of English
Language and Literature,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of

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ABSTRACT

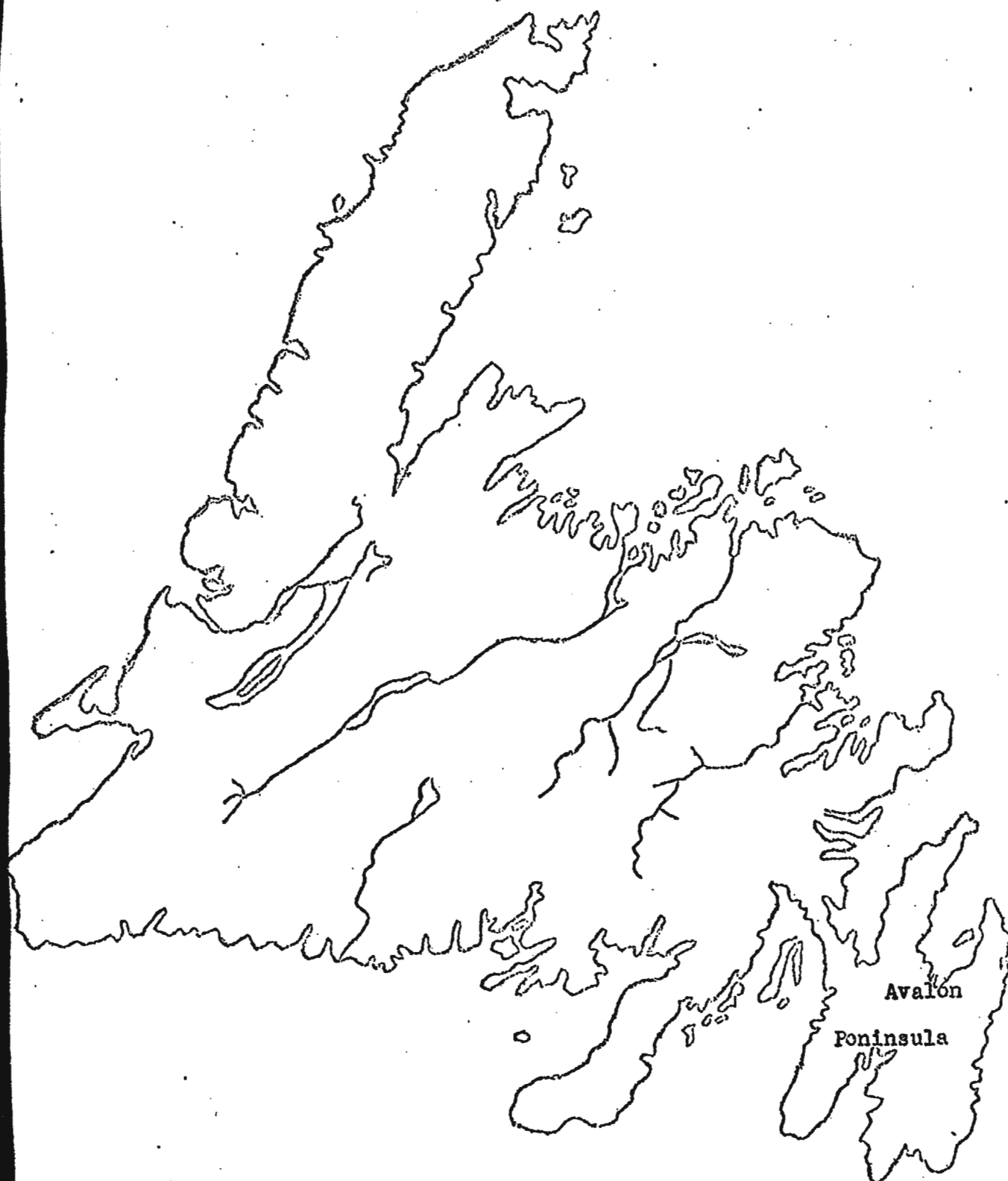
The Southern Shore is one of the most predominantly Irish sections of Newfoundland and has preserved, until even the present time, a great deal of the culture, customs and speech of the early settlers. This culture and particularly the speech present an interesting subject for study of origins, especially in Ireland. The material in this thesis was collected by use of a questionnaire, from a great deal of incidental conversation and, at times, by means of a tape recorder.

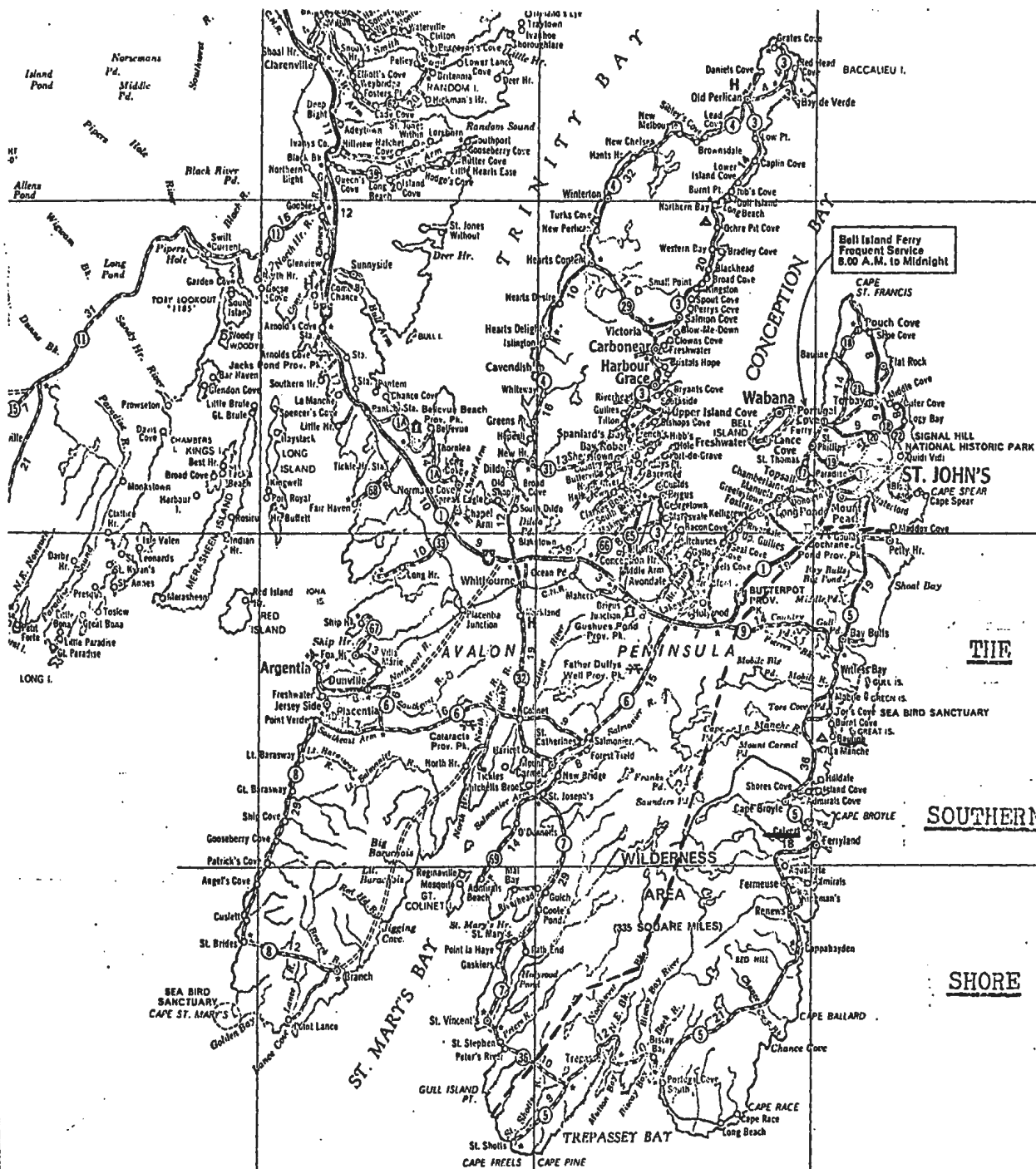
The first settlers in the area were apparently mostly English, who came either as fishermen or as settlers in the colonies founded during the early seventeenth century. At the time, there were probably a few Irish there also, but most of these came as servants to the English fishermen, and it is impossible to determine how many settled. It was only after the middle of the eighteenth century that many Irish people came to settle permanently.

The culture brought from Ireland was retained for generations in the Southern Shore area. Customs, folk beliefs, methods of building houses and clearing land, entertainment, religion and education for many years followed the patterns introduced by the first settlers. This study includes a lengthy discussion of these material and social aspects of the way of life.

The language, both Irish elements and Anglo-Irish brought to the Southern Shore, has survived for generations. Although the speech of the younger people has been greatly influenced by improved facilities for education and by radio and television, the type of speech brought from Ireland is retained, to a great extent, by older people, who still use much of the Anglo-Irish idiom and vocabulary, many phrases, proverbial sayings and comparisons, and a number of characteristic pronunciations. The glossary in Chapter IV treats all these Southern Shore localisms which can be traced to Irish-Gaelic, to Gaelic forms translated into English, or to older English forms which were present in the speech carried to Newfoundland, although probably obsolete in the standard English of the time.

Map of Newfoundland





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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Southern Shore

The term "Southern Shore" is widely used in eastern Newfoundland to designate that portion of the east coast of the Avalon Peninsula south of St. John's. The name, which is purely geographical, is generally used as a synonym for the political division known as Ferryland District, one of the forty-one provincial constituencies into which the province of Newfoundland is divided. It extends from a point in the Goulds, about five miles south of St. John's, southward to Cape Race. It continues west into and across Trepassey Bay. In this bay only the communities of Trepassey and Portugal Cove are large enough to be worthy of note. The boundary of the district lies somewhere in the area of St. Shotts. St. Shotts is actually located in St. Mary's Bay, and although omitted from this study, I must mention it here, since it forms the western extremity of the district, and has always been part of the Roman Catholic parish of Trepassey. A road, of sorts, connects the community with Trepassey, about eighteen miles away.

All the settlements on the Southern Shore are fishing communities situated along the coast. Farming, as a

primary occupation, is almost impossible in the area, for the climate is unfavourable and the soil is poor. The interior region consists mostly of barren tracts, bogland and marshland. The inland boundary of the district, therefore, is negligible.

In Newfoundland history, the Southern Shore has been an area of some importance. Along the Shore are some of the oldest settlements in Newfoundland. Several of these are important as the sites of early attempts at formal colonization.

Lord Baltimore's Colony

With the exception of John Guy's colony at Cupids in Conception Bay, the principal attempts at colonization were made in the Southern Shore area.¹ Of the early colonizers, Sir George Calvert, or Lord Baltimore, is probably better known than the others. The various accounts of this period are somewhat sketchy and ambiguous and, in some respects, contradictory. The earliest account that I have of Baltimore's colony at Ferryland is that of John Oldmixon, who wrote in 1708:

Sir George Calvert, Principal Secretary of State to King James, got a grant of the best part of the island. This gentleman, being of the Romish religion, was uneasy at home, and had the same reason to leave the kingdom

¹ I use "colony" to denote a settlement made by a colonizer who came out with a charter and a group of colonists.

as those gentlemen had who went to New England, to enjoy the liberty of his conscience. He therefore resolved to retire to America, and finding the Newfoundland Company made no use of their grant, he thought of this place for his retreat; to which end he procured a patent for that part of the island which lies between the Bay of Bulls in the east and Cape St. Mary's in the south, which was erected into a province and called Avalon, the name it goes by to this day.

Sir George, afterwards Lord Baltimore, sent over persons to plant and prepare things for his reception; and in 1621 Captain Edward Wynn went thither with a small colony at Sir George's charge, who seated himself at Ferryland, built houses, planted a little garden and set up a salt-work in 1622, and the same year, himself, Captain Powel, twenty-one men, seven women and two boys wintered there.

When Captain Wynn had given Sir George a satisfactory account of his proceedings, he removed thither with his family, built a fine house and strong fort at Ferryland, northward of Cape de Raz, and dwelt there some time; but having a better settlement in view in Virginia, he returned to England to get the grant of the country which is since called Maryland. However, he still retained the propriety of Avalon in Newfoundland, and governed the little colony at Ferryland by deputies till his death. His son, Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, did the same till the distractions in England during the Civil War rendered his possession precarious.¹

Kirke's Colony

Lord Baltimore died on April 15, 1632, and his son, Cecil, who inherited the title, abandoned Ferryland to attend to the business of the new colony at Maryland. The king declared that Baltimore and his settlers had deserted Newfoundland, and he granted the charter for the whole of

¹ John Oldmixon, The British Empire in America, 2d. ed., London, 1741, I, 5. (This, and following quotations from Oldmixon, have been modernized).

the island to others, notably Sir David Kirke. Kirke was knighted by Charles I in 1633 and in 1637 he was appointed governor of Newfoundland. He came out to Ferryland in 1638 with one hundred men, took up residence in Calvert's house and launched a campaign for making money. He charged rent for stages and rooms, sold tavern licences, and levied taxes on fish caught. Foreigners had to pay him a commission on their catches. He became very unpopular and complaints were sent to Britain about him; it was said that he had been acting dishonestly. He was dismissed and a new governor was sent out to Ferryland. In England, however, Kirke was restored to favour, and in 1649 he was back in Newfoundland.

Kirke, a staunch Loyalist, supported Charles I during the Civil War in England between the king and Parliament. He considered Ferryland a likely haven for Charles if he should seek exile. He begged the king to come out to Newfoundland, and he even went so far as to build a house for him. After the king's defeat, Sir David kept the Royal Standard flying over his house at Ferryland. Then in 1651, Kirke was recalled to England by Cromwell's Council of State, on suspicion of complicity with the Loyalists.

From that time on, accounts of Kirke's fate are vague and at times conflicting. There is a tradition that he died at Ferryland and is buried there on the Downs. A St. John's newspaper article claims that Kirke lived in

Newfoundland until 1673, when a Dutch squadron plundered and burned Ferryland.¹ Various sources seem to agree that his family continued to live at Ferryland after his death. Oldmixon says, of Ferryland:

Sir David lived there all his time, gave his name to a Sound on the Western Shore; and his children and grandchildren dwelt there after him, the latter being reduced to the mean condition of the ordinary inhabitants.²

Ferryland

Of the settlements on the Southern Shore, Ferryland probably has had the most colourful history. It had been a pirate stronghold long before Baltimore founded his colony there. The notorious Peter Easton had his headquarters in Ferryland around 1612. Kirke's sojourn there was the last official colonizing attempt in Newfoundland, but after Kirke's time the settlement seems to have been peopled by what Oldmixon calls "ordinary inhabitants". In all probability these settlers were English fishermen.

The Dutch plundered Ferryland in 1673 when four of their ships entered the harbour, and the settlement was frequently attacked by the French in their struggle with the English for sole possession of Newfoundland.³ The French

¹ Paul Sparkes, "Ferryland's Rugged Isle aux Bois Has Big Part in Newfoundland Past", the Daily News (St. John's), December 1, 1965, p. 9.

² Oldmixon, p. 6.

³ D. W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland, 2d. ed., London, 1896, p. 183.

failed to capture it by sea, but in 1696, as they marched overland from Placentia en route to St. John's under D'Iberville and de Brouillon, Ferryland was captured and burned. The French came back in 1705 and occupied it. After the Treaty of Utrecht was signed between Britain and France in 1713, and Newfoundland had been ceded to Britain, more settlers came out from the British Isles. In 1762, during the Seven Years War, a French attack was repelled when Captain Douglas organized the inhabitants in a successful defence against d'Haussonville and de Ternay.

Vaughan and Falkland

Two other colonizers must be noted in connection with the Southern Shore, namely Sir William Vaughan and Lord Falkland. Vaughan antedated all the other colonizers with the exception of Guy. He bought an interest in Newfoundland in 1616 and founded a Welsh colony in Trepassey Harbour. He named it Cambriol Colchos and Golden Grove. On Mason's map of 1617 it is called Vaughan's Cove.¹ The first batch of settlers came out to Trepassey in 1617, and it is believed that another group arrived with Sir Richard Whitbourne in 1618. Whitbourne later gave a sorry account of the colony in which he described the settlers as "idle fellows" by whom "the desired plantation can never be made beneficial".²

¹ Prowse, pp. 110-111.

² Ibid., p. 112.

Vaughan, himself, spent some time in Newfoundland, but instead of supervising the work of the colonists he spent the time writing. He seems to have been a scholar and pedant, but, as a colonizer, he was inefficient and impractical. The poor quality of the colonists and the apparent indifference of Vaughan brought the venture to eventual ruin. Vaughan was obliged to sell a narrow strip of his territory, north of the Trepassey settlement, to Lord Falkland. The remaining northern portion was transferred to Lord Baltimore.¹ In spite of a rather generous grant from King James, the colony at Trepassey was a total failure. Vaughan returned to England and the colonists dispersed, probably into St. Mary's Bay and to different points along the Southern Shore. There is a belief, which I have been unable to substantiate, that the Williams family of Bay Bulls are the descendants of some of Vaughan's Welsh colonists. Prowse makes reference to the Welsh origin of this name when he says, "...there is not a Welsh family remaining on the whole southern shore of Newfoundland, except the honoured family of Williams of Bay Bulls."²

The strip of territory which Vaughan sold to Lord Falkland was six miles wide. It extended from Renew's to a point between Fermeuse and Aquaforte, and from there it ran

¹ Prowse, p. 111.

² Ibid., p. 119.

west to Placentia Bay.¹ Henry Cary, the first Lord Falkland, was made Lord Deputy of Ireland by James I. He had two colonies in Newfoundland, one in the Trinity Bay area, called North Falkland, and the one which he founded around Renews and Fermeuse, called South Falkland. The Falkland colonies probably consisted entirely of people from Ireland, for Anspach says, "the plantations in Newfoundland received a considerable accession from a colony sent from Ireland by Lord Faulkland, then Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom."² Prowse says that few details are known about these colonists, but they populated Renews, Fermeuse and Aquaforte around 1628.³ It is likely that they were lazy good-for-nothings like Vaughan's settlers, "simply corralled like so many cattle, and sent out to the new settlement".⁴ There was no one to teach them how to clear the land for farming, and they were no good as fishermen. When we consider the nature of the settlers, the poor soil and the severe climate, it is not surprising that all the colonies were failures.

Little is known about the survivors of any of these

¹ Prowse, p. 111.

² Rev. L. A. Anspach, A History of the Island of Newfoundland, London, 1819, pp. 88-89.

³ Prowse, pp. 119-120.

⁴ Ibid., p. 119.

colonial settlements. We know only that the colonies were founded and that eventually they failed. The people in charge, no doubt, usually returned to England, but of the ordinary inhabitants we know little. Some probably returned to their native lands, but most of them probably remained behind, to earn a meagre livelihood from fishing and farming. Whether they remained in the Southern Shore area or dispersed to other parts of Newfoundland, we do not know with any degree of certainty.

Bay Bulls

With the exception of colonial sites like Ferryland and Trepassey, Bay Bulls is the only Southern Shore settlement mentioned at any great length in surviving records. Bay Bulls is one of the oldest settlements in Newfoundland, and it played a significant part in the struggle between the British and the French for possession of the island. As early as 1583 a French fishing vessel was seized at Bay Bulls and taken to Europe by some deserters from St. John's. Around 1645 the settlement was engaged in trade with ships from the New England colonies.¹ It was captured by the French under de Subercase in 1704 and by Admiral de Ternay in 1762. When the French landed in 1762, Nathaniel Brooks, the leading merchant, took to the woods with the inhabitants. They fled to Petty Harbour where they took three schooners

¹ Prowse, p. 152.

and headed out to sea bound for Halifax. The last invasion of Newfoundland took place at Bay Bulls in 1796, when a large French fleet entered and burned the settlement, having decided not to attack St. John's, which was well defended.

Early Population of the Area

Situated as they are, on the east coast of the Avalon Peninsula, all the settlements on the Southern Shore had settlers at a very early date, probably within a few years of Cabot's discovery of Newfoundland in 1497. Every year summer fishermen from France and Portugal, as well as from England, filled the various coves and harbours along the coast. It was probably some years, however, before any sort of permanent settlement was established, for through the influence of the West Country merchants, settlement in Newfoundland was forbidden. The West Countrymen believed that it was in their own best interests to have Newfoundland remain a mere summer fishing ground. It later became customary for fishing ships to leave behind in the fall several members of their crews, who made repairs to equipment and property over the winter.¹ It is likely that such crews became the first permanent settlers, for although there are few records to provide concrete evidence of the fact, settlement was made. It seems probable that the earlier settlers did not remain permanently in the first harbours

¹ Prowse, p. 59.

they happened to reach, but moved from time to time, depending on the successes and failures of the fishery in particular areas. Such migrations might possibly explain the fact that the earlier settlers in the Southern Shore area were, apparently, English, although there is little evidence, traditional or otherwise, to show that any large numbers of English populated the area when the Irish influx began.¹

Southern Shore Place Names

Many place names along the Southern Shore are of non-British origin, and can be traced back to French and Portuguese. They were given, no doubt, to the various harbours by the early foreign fishermen and mapmakers who knew our shores. Many of the larger settlements, such as Ferryland, Aquaforte, Renew's, Fermeuse and Trepassey, have names of foreign origin, but most of the smaller coves and inlets have English names, like Shores Cove, Admirals Cove, Broad Cove (now Cappahayden) and Bear Cove. A possible explanation is the fact that the Portuguese and the French were the first European fishermen to come to Newfoundland, probably in the early 1500s. These summer visitors were probably most familiar with the larger harbours, which they must have entered from time to time to get fresh water and any available food. Later, when the English came, these

¹ Oldmixon, p. 7.

harbours had names which were presumably in general use, for example, in navigators' charts. If the Englishmen did give them English names, later mapmakers, who do not necessarily take local names into account, most likely ignored them, and continued to use the names already in use. Smaller coves and inlets, unnamed by the French and Portuguese, would naturally retain the names given to them by the English.

A few place names have been changed within recent years, mainly to avoid confusion with larger settlements elsewhere in Newfoundland. Around 1913, Broad Cove became Cappahayden, and since about 1960 Admirals Cove (Fermeuse), and Brigus, near Cape Broyle, have been renamed Port Kirwan and Hilldale respectively.

The Welsh and learned classical names given to their colonies by Baltimore, Vaughan and Falkland are unknown today. Of names like Golden Grove, Cambriol Colchos, Brittaniola, Glamorgan, Cardigan and Avalon, the only one to survive is Baltimore's "Avalon". It is preserved in the name of the peninsula which forms the south-eastern portion of the island of Newfoundland. The other names, like the colonies they designated, have completely disappeared.

Scope of the Study

In my study of Southern Shore speech, I have confined my research to the area extending from Bay Bulls to

Trepassey. I omitted St. Shotts, the southernmost community, and the area in the north known as the Goulds. The Goulds has a population of mixed racial origin, and although there is a large Irish element, communication with the Southern Shore was limited for many years, since a distance of some ten miles separates the Goulds from Bay Bulls. For purposes of linguistic study, I feel that the area is best considered a suburb of St. John's.

Within the selected area, there are approximately twenty communities or settlements.¹ I chose to concentrate chiefly on the larger, more central communities which lie along the main highway. In several instances I included communities I had planned to omit, usually at the suggestion of a helpful informant who advised me to see a certain person who "still uses a lot of the old talk".

I restricted my research to thirteen settlements, where I interviewed one primary informant with my questionnaire. I had compiled the questionnaire from items of vocabulary, grammar and idiom that I had gathered over a period of several years in my home community of Mobile. In communities where my principal informant was a man, I later

¹ "Settlement" is used in Newfoundland to denote a village or small town. "Village" is rarely used. Some settlements are quite close together, and are properly considered a single community. Around Bauline, for example, there are three small settlements, Bauline, St. Michaels and Burnt Cove. It is possible to walk from one to the other in five or ten minutes.

got in touch with a woman for items used in connection with cooking, washing, knitting and other kinds of household work. When my informant was a woman, I afterwards talked with a man, who would be more reliable for items pertaining to the fishery, woods-work, building and the growing of crops. In several communities I was fortunate enough to interview elderly couples both of whom had been born in the same community and had lived there all their lives.

I always endeavoured to find the oldest people available. I discovered, however, that working with very old people had several disadvantages. Many suffered from deafness and lapse of memory. They were always willing to talk but they were frequently difficult to question. Even when a question was clearly understood, they grew restless with giving answers, and preferred just to talk about themselves and the old times "a spell ago". From such conversation with the elderly people I usually picked up the grammatical and idiomatic items I sought, and frequently many that I had never heard before. However, for names of objects and other vocabulary items I found that people between forty and seventy made better informants.

At Cappahayden and at Portugal Cove I found myself interviewing whole families. My Cappahayden informant was a woman of eighty-five, and although she proved an invaluable source of information it was difficult to get answers to specific questions. I used the questionnaire with her three

middle-aged sons and a daughter-in-law, with very gratifying results. My elderly Portugal Cove contacts were exceptionally good at answering questions. At the home of one man in his mid-seventies, his middle-aged second wife and three of his sons made valuable contributions to the interview.

I took great care to discount, for purposes of my survey, any contributions made by people who were not Southern Shore natives. Many wives came from other parts of Newfoundland. Such people were of assistance, however, in recalling certain words and expressions, used locally, which they had never heard before coming to the Southern Shore area. Children and teen-agers were helpful in this respect also. A twelve year old girl at Renews remarked, for instance, that "Granny always calls a comb a rack".

On the whole I did very little work with young people. None of my informants, who numbered about fifty, were under the age of forty. Younger people, especially teen-agers, have been too much influenced by the improved education, radio and TV and popular magazines to be very reliable as informants.

I found that as informants men and women are equally good. My experience suggested that personality, attitudes and interests make a good informant rather than the sex of the individual person. I encountered a few elderly people who considered it old-fashioned and a sign of lack of education to display any interest in dialect or folklore.

To profess a belief in superstition or in the supernatural was, to some, an indication of ignorance. On the whole, however, people were quite co-operative and they rather enjoyed talking about local speech peculiarities. The ideal situation for an interview, I would think, would be to contact an elderly couple, in full possession of all their faculties, who had been born and raised in a community, and had had as little experience as possible outside the community.

It was to my great advantage that I was a Southern Shore native. Whenever I introduced myself I always said that I came from Mobile. Everyone on the Shore knows that the Dillons live in Mobile just as they know that the Careys live in Witless Bay, the O'Briens in Cape Broyle and the Sullivans in Calvert. If I had come from St. John's or from Bonavista Bay, I think I would have been considered a stranger, and many doors might have been closed to me. When I was admitted to a home, and had answered the inevitable questions about my family, and had satisfied everyone as to who my father and grandfather were, I mentioned that I was doing some work on speech for the university. I explained that I wanted someone to answer some questions for me. Sometimes I was advised to see a local boy or girl who had been to university the previous year. I would then explain that I wanted an older person, taking care always to be complimentary. I would say that only the older people could

tell me about the things I was interested in, and that I had found the young people were too wrapped up in their own interests to talk with me seriously. I took care to identify myself with the older generation and I spoke to them in their own idiom. Often when I had a good citation for one of my items, I would use that item in conversation later on. People spoke more freely when they realized that I really spoke their language.

In the early stages of my field-work, I made several attempts to use a tape recorder. I found that few of my contacts would speak freely when the machine was recording, and since I was more interested in vocabulary and grammar than in speech sounds, I accomplished very little. It sometimes took five minutes or longer to elicit an item of vocabulary, and most of my tape recordings were interspersed with great blank spaces. The decisive disadvantage of the tape recorder, however, lay in its power to inhibit people who were otherwise willing to talk quite freely.

My questionnaire consisted of two sections, each containing about two hundred items. The first section was made up of vocabulary items only; the second contained everything that was non-lexical. I later discovered that I had compiled a questionnaire admirably suited to my purpose. I decided during my first interview to begin always with vocabulary, for words are comparatively easy to recall. In my notebook I wrote the answers to questions on one side of

a sheet only, saving the blank page for all items of interest which came out in conversation. I soon noted, with some amazement, that my "blank" pages were filled long before the question-and-answer pages. When I had finished with the vocabulary section, I usually had responses for most of my non-vocabulary items also. The vocabulary section thus served a double purpose. I used the second section mainly to check off items that had come out freely in conversation, and I found frequently that as few as twenty or thirty items remained for direct questioning.

It was very difficult to elicit idiomatic phrases and syntactic structures by using a questionnaire. When I used this method I usually ended up by giving the item and asking the informant if he had heard it, and if he used it himself. As a result, I could never be certain that the answers were correct. I often suspected that an informant was unsure, or that he was merely giving the answer he knew I wanted. Many times I had the frustrating experience of labouring over an item for perhaps ten minutes, of returning to it later with a new approach, and of finally having to suggest the desired reply, only to have my informant remark, "Yes, you could say that too". I feel that grammar and idiom are used for the most part quite unconsciously, and are not readily brought to mind. An added difficulty is the fact that there are usually many ways of expressing the same thing, and it is hard for

people to remember exactly what they say. There is a tendency always to give what is considered the more "correct" form in reply to a question. One elderly lady, for example, gave the response, "I should have done that" to one of my questions. I remarked that many people on the Southern Shore say "I had right to do that". She was rather amused, and told me that this form was used a lot years ago, but that "you won't hear it much today". I had already committed to my notebook three or four fine examples of this "old" usage from her own conversation. I noticed that she continued to use "had right to" in subsequent conversation.

The questionnaire is excellent for obtaining words, proverbs, comparisons, expressions of greeting, calls to animals, ways of asking blessings, and any other linguistic forms that may be elicited as definite, clear-cut responses to concise, unequivocal questions. For intricate syntactic structures, however, I believe it to be invalid and unreliable. Such structures, in my opinion, can be validly obtained only from the flow of speech.

To go through the questionnaire, in the manner I have described above, required an average time of about thirty-two hours. The maximum amount of time spent with any one informant on a given day was four hours. With very old people I rarely spent more than two and a half hours at a time, for they grew restless and impatient when the interview

was prolonged. When I noticed that an elderly person showed signs of boredom, I made a point of putting away my "questions". However, I kept my notebook and pencil at hand, for when the question period ended, I often found that a person who was inclined to talk could continue for hours so long as he could lead the conversation himself. The amount of material that I obtained from such conversation was of inestimable value. It required from eight to ten days to complete an interview usually, but I often worked with two people concurrently, sometimes in different communities. In the Trepassey-Portugal Cove area, I spent the afternoon period with my Portugal Cove informant, and I was fortunate enough to find an elderly Trepassey couple who preferred that I come from seven to ten in the evening.

The questionnaire originally devised proved to be but a tentative beginning, for from every settlement I visited, I came away with dozens of new items which I worked into my original questionnaire as best I could. It was a particularly frustrating experience to find, towards the end of my field-work, that new and interesting words kept cropping up. It was impossible to go back over the territory I had already covered, but by running into an informant accidentally from time to time I did manage to check a few items.

A great deal of the material in my discussion of the social and economic background of the Southern Shore area has

come from word of mouth. There are no written accounts of social life in the area, and, with the exception of census statistics, no records of the economic life.¹ By drawing upon tradition and upon the reminiscences of older residents, I have attempted to reconstruct something of the past. Life in the area has changed greatly within recent years. The old Irish culture, preserved for generations, has all but disappeared, and the modern North American way of life is being adopted. I have tried to depict some of the changes, for cultural change leads inevitably to linguistic change. The Irish element, though strong in the speech of the older generations, is rapidly disappearing from the English spoken by younger Southern Shore natives. Scores of words have become obsolete, sometimes because the objects they denoted or the occupations with which they were associated are no longer a part of everyday life, but usually because more modern English equivalents have replaced them. Old grammatical forms and syntactic structures are being replaced by more acceptable standard forms. With greatly improved facilities for education and the resulting drop in the rate of illiteracy, the Irish influence, no doubt, will soon disappear completely.

¹ Also see C. Grant Head, "The Southern Avalon" in Community Geographical Surveys, St. John's, Memorial University of Newfoundland, The Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1963, pp. 120-168.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND

The Irish

It would seem that in the early days of settlement, the Southern Shore was populated by English, Irish and Welsh settlers. The English were probably in the majority. John Oldmixon, writing in the early eighteenth century, states that:

The English had settlements formerly as far as Cape St. Mary's on the Southern Shore; but now they begin at Ferryland Head, and are scattered along the coast at eight or ten miles distance from one harbour to another, as far as Greenpond.¹

Oldmixon names the English settlements on the Southern Shore as Ferryland, Cape Broil, Bay of Bulls, Brigas Bay, Bell Inn, Toads Cove and Mummables Bay. He gives the approximate number of houses and families in each settlement. Ferryland, for example, had thirty families, Bay of Bulls (now Bay Bulls) had twenty, and Mummables Bay (now Mobile) had six. We may assume that most of these settlers were English.

Today, however, the Southern Shore is one of the predominantly Irish areas of Newfoundland. A very high

¹ Oldmixon, p. 7.

percentage, probably more than ninety-five per cent, of the total population are of the Roman Catholic faith. According to the Newfoundland Census of 1945, the population of the area was 6,346.¹ The total number of Protestants, of all denominations, was only 155, something less than three per cent. At the present time, 1967, the proportion of Catholics to Protestants is about the same as in 1945.

Irish family names predominate in the Southern Shore area, although there are a few English names scattered here and there. Originally, some of the English were Anglican or Methodist; but over the years, principally through intermarriage with Catholics, they have, for the most part, embraced Catholicism. The Morry family at Ferryland and the Graham family at Aquaforte, who were originally Protestant, are examples. There are still, however, small pockets of Protestants at places like Bay Bulls and Aquaforte. The Pack family of Bay Bulls and the Winsors and Paynes of Aquaforte are still staunch adherents of the Anglican faith. There are no Protestant families left at Ferryland, and there are only three or four at Bay Bulls, which from the very earliest times has had a mixed population. Bay Bulls has one of the best harbours on the Shore, and it

¹ I refer to the 1945 census because it is the last one to give the total population by settlement and district. Since 1949, only Canadian Census figures are available. This census divides the province into a number of subdivisions, and it is difficult to determine the total population of a given district.

was settled very early by both English and Irish, the latter probably coming out as servants. It is significant that, even to the present day, Bay Bulls has a section which is known as Irish Town. Many towns in Ireland, for example Limerick, had an English Town and an Irish Town. The more prosperous English lived in the English section, while the Irish lived in hovels in the area known as Irish Town.¹ The town of New Ross, in County Wexford, still has an Irish Town.

We are not sure when the first Irish settlers came to Newfoundland but we know that Falkland brought out Irish colonists who settled around Renews and Fermeuse in the 1620s. After Falkland's colony failed, these settlers probably dispersed, like Vaughan's Welshmen, to different points along the Southern Shore and into St. Mary's Bay. In all probability there were some Irish in the settlements mentioned by Oldmixon. It is believed that Vaughan and Baltimore brought out Irish servants, and it seems that Irish settlers were coming to Newfoundland all through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. English vessels, sailing from Devon and other parts of western England, called at southern Irish ports to get supplies, and to hire young men as part of the ships' crews. These Irish servants, or "youngsters", were, next to the West Countrymen, the most

¹ H. V. Morton, In Search of Ireland, London, 1930, p. 148.

prominent among the seasonal fishermen from the British Isles.¹ Prowse writes that Irish woollens were "absurdly cheap and remarkably good" and "in the plantations they were, like Irish pork and Irish beef and Irish 'youngsters,' half the price of the English article". He goes on to supply the following account:

It was to buy these Irish woollens, 'Frises, Bandel-cloths,' 'stockins,' pork, beef, butter, and to engage Irish servants, that the West Countrymen first touched at Waterford and Cork on their way out to Newfoundland, and thus commenced the Irish Newfoundland trade in 'youngsters' and provisions.

The first Irishmen in the Colony were these youngsters, shipped for two summers and a winter; as Baudoin tells us, they were servants to the English, who treated them ill. During the troubled times of 1690, the period of the wars in Ireland and the battle of the Boyne, the peasants were only too glad to flee from the country, so the bye-boat keepers took them out in the West Country vessels in still larger numbers....

Gradually these brave Irish boys amalgamated with the English settlers, married the planters' daughters, and became an important part of the resident population; compared however with the English, their numbers at first were small.²

Prowse makes no definite statement as to when the custom of bringing out Irish servants was first begun, but he does state that "the first Irishmen in the Colony were these youngsters". In his description of the Falkland

¹ Prowse explains, p. 201, that a "youngster" in Newfoundland meant an unmarried servant; just as a "boy" in Ireland meant an unmarried man, even when he was eighty.

² Prowse, p. 201.

colony, he makes no mention of the fact that the colonists were Irish.¹ If he believed that they were Irish, then it seems that he is assuming that the "youngsters" were coming out before the 1620s, and that their numbers increased after 1690.

The writings of other historians, however, give the impression that Ireland's connection with the Newfoundland fishery began at a later date, towards the end of the seventeenth century. Archbishop Howley, for example, says:

In 1670 we find the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations complaining that many owners of ships carried out passengers 'contrary to the laws and constitutions' of the fishery to the great detriment of the fishing trade. That many owners also victualled their ships from Ireland instead of England. Here we have a faint glimpse of the origin of Irish immigration, which was to take such deep root and to play so prominent a part in the future history of Newfoundland.²

He mentions also 1690, the year a petition was made for a governor, and he says that the request was denied by the Lords of Trade and Plantations, who did, however, recommend that a chaplain be sent out in the convoy ships. He goes on to say:

Meantime, while these efforts were being made to establish and support the Protestant

¹ Prowse, pp. 119-120.

² Very Rev. M. F. Howley, Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland, Boston, 1888, p. 168.

religion in the Island, a gradual influx of Irish Roman Catholic population was imperceptibly pouring into the country and taking deep root in the various bays and harbours.¹

Another pertinent remark is the following:

We have already learned from the diary of Père Baudouin that as far back as 1696 there was a considerable colony of Irish established in the country.²

Rev. P. W. Browne, in an article entitled "Talav an Eask", also refers to the diary of "the Abbé Beaudoin, chaplain to the French settlements", and makes note of the date 1696, given by Beaudoin as the year in which eight Irishmen were brought to St. John's as French prisoners from an Irish colony in Conception Bay.³

Lounsbury, in making reference to the Irish who came out to Newfoundland in the English ships, gives the date 1720:

The presence of considerable numbers of Irish Catholics had been remarked as early as 1720 by Commodore Percy, many of whom were brought out in fishing ships from Bristol, Bideford, and Barnstable, which were accustomed to call at Irish ports on the outward voyage for provisions and labor. ... Usually a good many remained in Newfoundland at the end of the fishing season, and by 1729 the number of those

¹ Archbishop Howley, p. 167.

² Ibid., p. 168.

³ Rev. P. W. Browne, "Talav an Eask", the Irish Ecclesiastical Record, Fifth Series, VI (1915), 127-128.

resident in the island had considerably increased.... By 1731 a majority of the male population of the island was Irish Catholic.¹

An act passed in Britain in 1698 was partly responsible for the flow of Irish settlers into Newfoundland. The new law required that, "Every master of a By-boat shall carry 2 freshmen in 6 (one having one voyage and one never at sea before)".² The purpose of the law was to ensure a supply of trained seamen for the British fleets. The West Countrymen found it difficult to meet the requirement in England, so they took on Irishmen instead. By 1729 Irish seamen accounted for more than the required two, and, as Lounsbury says, "In addition to the Irishmen who came as members of fishing crews, others arrived as passengers to seek employment from the planters and byboat keepers."³

The large numbers of Irish in the island soon created a problem for the authorities, for "Owing to the practice of paying seamen with a part of the catch many seamen - most Irish - found themselves dumped in Newfoundland - usually St. John's - without any means of earning their passage home".⁴ In his report of 1746,

¹ Ralph G. Lounsbury, The British Fishery at Newfoundland, 1634-1763, New Haven, 1934, pp. 300-301.

² Quoted in C. R. Fay, Life and Labour in Newfoundland, Toronto, 1956, Appendix I, p. 240.

³ Lounsbury, p. 301.

⁴ Linda Hammond, "Irish Immigration into Newfoundland:- an Outline", Memorial University Library, typescript, May 11, 1967, p. 2.

Commodore Douglas made mention of their numbers, and in 1748 Governor Watson was directed to ascertain the exact number among them who were capable of bearing arms, for they were believed to outnumber the Protestants. It was found that they outbalanced the Protestants in St. John's and the southern outports. (This would include the Southern Shore). However, they were found to comprise only a fifth of the population in the northern harbours. The governor estimated that they formed about one-quarter of the total population.

In 1755 the governor, Hugh Dorril, published a proclamation against bringing Roman Catholic servants into the country, and gave an order that those brought in during the summer were to be sent back to Ireland when the fishing season ended.¹ It seems that the Irish were unwanted and unpopular, but Dorril's order apparently was not strictly enforced, for his successor, Governor Edwards, recorded vast numbers of Irish still in Newfoundland. The census of 1763 showed a total population of 13,112, with 7,500 permanent settlers. 4,795 were Catholic, and these were mostly Irish.²

Without doubt, a very high proportion of this Irish Catholic population was male. Lounsbury states that as early as 1764, Governor Palliser ruled that no woman could land

¹ Archbishop Howley, p. 172.

² Anspach, pp. 184-185.

unless security for good behaviour had first been lodged.¹ This was in consequence of the arrival from Ireland of poor and dissolute women who occasioned much disorder.

With English Protestant feeling so strongly against the Irish Catholics, the Irish likewise bore little love for their oppressors. From bitter experience in their homeland, they knew only too well the methods and manifestations of English tyranny. Despite the directive given to Governor Watson, to determine the number of Irish capable of bearing arms, it is doubtful if any Irishman willingly helped the British in their defence of Newfoundland. The following observation, referring specifically to Governor Dorril, reflects the general attitude of the Irish:

...the Irish Catholics, as might have been expected, either remained neutral or sided with the French, -- naturally preferring the dominion of the latter to the brutal sway of an authority wielded by such a petty tyrant as Dorril.²

One incident is recorded which illustrates the ill-will which the Irish bore towards their English masters. It occurred at Bay Bulls in 1762. The French landed their troops there on June 24, unopposed by the villagers, who took to the woods with Nathaniel Brooks, a merchant. The French were met by twenty-four Irishmen who were employed by Brooks and his friends in the fishery. They had chosen to

¹ Lounsbury, pp. 300-302.

² Archbishop Howley, p. 174.

stay behind to help the French in looting their masters' homes and in killing "all the cattle they met with".¹

The coming of the Irish "youngsters" constituted the first phase of Irish settlement in Newfoundland. A second phase began, probably towards the end of the eighteenth century, when Irish settlers came to stay. Unlike the "youngsters" or servants, who might have returned to Ireland in large numbers if passage money had been available, these settlers left their homeland forever, bringing with them what little they possessed of worldly goods. Many came, no doubt, without any certain prospects of employment, knowing only that whatever lay in store for them, their condition could not be any worse than it had been at home. Little is known about them today. One can only surmise that their plight was near desperation. In the Southern Shore area, for example, many traditional stories are told about early Irish arrivals. They are usually tales of poverty and of hardships endured. The story of the Walsh family, which I shall later recount, is told in Cape Broyle. When John and Ellen Walsh, a young married couple, arrived in Newfoundland in the spring of 1785, they had to walk ashore on the ice. They pulled behind them, in a large wooden

¹ David Webber, "Voyage to Defeat" (typescript, p. 11), from War Office 34/26, fol. 173, a declaration made by Ganeston Meers before the governor of Massachusetts, Boston, July 11, 1762. I am grateful to Mr. Webber for this reference.

crate, the few possessions they had brought with them.

To understand the motive for Irish emigration, it is necessary to know something of conditions in Ireland at the time. The Irish at home were living under the most wretched conditions. They tried to survive by cultivating small parcels of the most unproductive land, meted out to them by the English land owners. This bit of land amounted to what O'Faoláin calls "a quarter acre of rotten sod".¹ Under the old Irish system the Irish had been freeholders, holding their land incontestably for three generations at least. Under the new system, they were leaseholders, that is, they held their land from year to year and paid heavy rents to the landlords. They had become mere tenants or peasants on land which had once been their own. They had little hope of improving their lot, and they were starving to death by the thousands. They also suffered religious persecution, to the extent that "priests generally dressed in discreet brown so as not to attract attention" and "are always (as in Tone's diaries) spoken of as 'Mister' So-and-so".² Under such circumstances, one can easily understand why the Irish sought escape.

The prevailing system, whereby the Irish held land from English landlords, had existed in Ireland for some

¹ S. O'Faoláin, The Irish, New York, 1949, p. 96.

² Ibid., p. 115.

time, notably from the time of Cromwell, who had filled almost the entire country with British settlers, and had forced those holding land east of the Shannon River to move into the less fertile and rocky province of Connaught or to County Clare. Only about a third of all the land in Ireland remained in the possession of Irish Catholics.

However, despite such oppressive conditions, it seems that the only Irish who left the country, to any noticeable extent, in the early eighteenth century, were those who came to Newfoundland. J. D. Rogers excludes the Ulstermen, who emigrated but went elsewhere, when he states:

...famine was the scourge that drove pitiful hordes of Celtic-Irish peasants to Newfoundland, which was the only place in the New World where their kith and kin could be found.¹

This extract from Rogers suggests that when the Irish began coming to Newfoundland to settle permanently, they were perhaps influenced by the fact that they had relatives or friends living here, who had come out earlier in the fishing boats. There were, however, several other factors which encouraged the Irish to come to Newfoundland.

Helen I. Cowan, in her work on emigration to British North America, says that there was no significant Irish emigration prior to 1793.² In the late nineties, several

¹ J. D. Rogers, Newfoundland, Vol. V., Part iv of A Historical Geography of the British Colonies, Oxford, 1911, p. 120.

² Helen I. Cowan, British Emigration to British North America, Toronto, 1961, p. 34.

events combined to foster emigration. In 1798, the Rebellion of the United Irishmen took place, under the leadership of Wolfe Tone. The rebels achieved very little, and the rising is generally considered a failure. It did, however, help to create a rebel mentality in the Irish, and it resulted in a wave of emigration to North America.¹ The outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars resulted in certain restrictions which brought even greater hardships upon the Irish. The period of peace, 1801-1802, and the resulting ease of transportation across the Atlantic saw a flood of Irish emigration, although emigrants could sometimes get passage no further than Newfoundland.

New Passenger Acts also had an effect. In 1803, for example, an act was passed which specified certain requirements for passenger ships. Regulations regarding food for passengers, and the order that all ships carry a doctor on board, put the fare beyond the means of aspiring emigrants. The provisions applied to all vessels sailing from Britain to North America, except to Newfoundland. The effects of this circumstance on Irish settlement in Newfoundland can be readily perceived.

After 1800, great hordes of Irish thronged to our island. In the ten-year period from 1805 to 1815, some ten

¹ Strictly speaking, the population movement to Newfoundland was not "immigration"; it was seasonal migration. There was never any organized method of bringing people over. As Miss Cowan remarks, p. 131, "The story of the crossings from Ireland to Newfoundland has never been told". I shall use "immigration" at times merely for convenience.

thousand came in.¹ Hatton and Harvey record that in 1807 the population of St. John's was swelled to 5,057 by incoming Irishmen.² War years were boom years for Newfoundland, especially after the outbreak of the 1812 War. Competitors were prevented by blockade and by other restrictions from marketing their fish. The price of fish rose accordingly, and with it the wages of fishermen. 1815 seems to have been a peak year. The Annual Register and Chronicle, 1815, has the following extract from a private letter dated at St. John's, June 23, 1815:

The arrivals from Ireland, which have exceeded any in the Custom House book, exclusive of those vessels which have made no return, are three thousand and twenty-six men and three hundred and seventy-three women to this harbour alone; but the numbers far exceed the returns.³

Adams gives the figure for 1815 as no less than five thousand.⁴ The explanation in part, he believes, is that the United States flaxseed ships, which usually carried the bulk of the Irish emigrants, came too late in the season, and were too preoccupied with cargo to be interested in passengers.

¹ E. B. Foran, "Newfoundland Statesmen of the Past", The Book of Newfoundland, ed. by J. R. Smallwood, St. John's, 1937, I, 253.

² Joseph Hatton and Rev. M. Harvey, Newfoundland the Oldest British Colony, London, 1883, p. 87.

³ Browne, "Talav an Eask", p. 127.

⁴ William Forbes Adams, Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World, New Haven, 1932, p. 71.

Their would-be passengers came instead to Newfoundland.

Fay believes that many of the Irish used Newfoundland as a route to other places, a belief borne out by the provisions of the Passenger Act of 1803. He offers as evidence a quotation from a pamphlet by Sir William Carson, written in 1812 and entitled Reasons for Colonizing the Island of Newfoundland:

Give small plots to faithful fishing servants:
and keep the Irish here, instead of making
the place a stepping stone to the U.S.¹

The large numbers of Irish in the country became a matter of even greater concern at this time for the local authorities, who, to meet the problem, for some years from 1816 onwards, used to ship back numerous Irish people, but as McLintock comments, this practice was "but a palliative" which could do little to ease the internal situation.² Around 1816, a thousand Irishmen were shipped to Halifax, and many of the more destitute were sent home.

Immigration into Newfoundland never again reached the peak of 1815, but it continued nevertheless. Two further Acts of the British Parliament, which were passed in July of 1816 and March of 1817, and reports of hardships reaching Waterford, had an adverse effect on Irish crossings.

¹ Fay, p. 119.

² A. H. McLintock, The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783-1832, London, 1941, p. 129.

However, even when the immigration laws were restrictive, ships were allowed to bring fishing servants. Around 1825-1826 there was a resurgence of movement from Ireland, but an Act passed in 1828 again tightened up restrictions on shippers. According to McLintock, from 1811 to 1830, the only years for which reliable figures are available, over 24,000 Irish came to Newfoundland.¹

In the late 1820s, the problem of the destitute Irish had become a matter of grave concern. On March 26, 1827, the governor's secretary wrote to the St. John's Chamber of Commerce. The letter reads in part:

Last year not less than 1,050 have been brought from Ireland alone, of which not more than 650 have since left the country. As probably the greater part of the persons that have thus remained in the colony have been without the means of support, and formed a large portion of those relieved during the winter by Government and the Community, it becomes a matter of serious consideration, how the evil can be checked, and what will be the most effectual means of preventing a recurrence of it for the future.²

The letter goes on to say how the repeal of the Passenger Act by the Fishery Act of 1824 has opened the doors to the unlimited admission of settlers. It mentions the strong inducements to the Irish to settle in Newfoundland, and it states that in the specified year, 1827, there will

¹ McLintock, pp. 126-127.

² Fay, p. 157.

probably be "a much greater influx of inhabitants into this island than at any former period". Because the government has to support this excessive population, or to provide for their return to Europe or for their transfer to other colonies, the governor wishes the Chamber of Commerce to discourage "by all means in their power such importations for the future".

In spite of this appeal and the restricting Act of 1828, Irish settlers continued to come in. All through the 1840s settlement continued, so that the population of St. John's nearly doubled from 1840 to 1850.¹ In 1845 there was only a trickle of immigrants,² and the St. John's fire of 1846 had an adverse effect, for reports of it, no doubt, were quickly carried to Waterford. 1848, however, was a record year, with some 757 arrivals recorded.³ This, of course, was the year of the great Irish potato famine, an event which greatly accelerated emigration. According to Rogers, 4,940 Irish settlers came to Newfoundland between 1842 and 1875. Although there was no great influx after 1850, Helen Cowan gives statistics for the years 1853 to 1860 which are worthy of mention.⁴ According to her table, the

¹ P. K. Devine, Ye Olde St. John's, [St. John's, 1936], p. 47.

² A. B. Perlin, The Story of Newfoundland, [St. John's, 1959], p. 9.

³ Rogers, p. 240.

⁴ Cowan, Table III, Appendix B, p. 290.

number of Irish arrivals per year for the years 1853 to 1857 inclusive is less than 100. In 1853 there were 94, and in 1856 only 5. There is an upsurge for the period 1858-1860. In 1858 there were 119 immigrants from Ireland. In 1859 the number rose to 253 and in 1860 to 422. The total for the eight-year period, according to the table, is 1,015 Irish. It is difficult to account for the increase during the latter three-year period, for it is generally believed that at that time Irish immigration was on the decline. Census statistics, which record the place of birth of Newfoundland residents, show a steady decrease from 1857 to 1935 of people born outside the country. There is no doubt that after 1860 settlement would be confined to a few isolated instances.

When Irish people began to settle permanently, it is probable that whole families came together. However, the only evidence I have in support of this assumption is tradition. There is some evidence, which I shall later present, that they came from the southern counties of Ireland. Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Flynn gives the counties of Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny, Cork and Tipperary as the principal sources of immigration to Newfoundland.¹ The settlers came out in fishing vessels and freighters, in

¹ Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Flynn, "The Roman Catholic Church in Newfoundland", The Book of Newfoundland, II, 274.

fact in any ship that would take them. Fay describes their exodus when he says that they "were shipped from Waterford under wretched conditions in vessels part laden with salt".¹ Disease such as typhus was "rampant among them. Conditions were worse than on the Slavers." He says also that "They turned up without funds and stayed, as their brethren from Ulster did in North Carolina and Nova Scotia, only with this difference that the latter often brought funds with them."² The Irish who came to Newfoundland in the 1840s apparently had a fairly regular means of transportation. P. K. Devine says that more than half of the Irish emigrants who came here in such large numbers from 1840 to 1850 were brought out in J & R Kent's vessels.³ Kent's was a shipping firm, and its vessels sailed between St. John's and Waterford and Cork.

No records exist in Newfoundland that give specific information about the Irish. We do not know with certainty what counties any particular families came from, their exact date of arrival, or where they settled. They came first as servants and later as unwelcome permanent settlers. No one had any regard for them, and no one bothered about them. It is doubtful if any records were ever kept. What

¹ Fay, pp. 157-158.

² Ibid., p. 132.

³ Devine, p. 47.

information we have about any family is mostly traditional. We are fairly certain that most of them embarked at New Ross, Waterford and Cork, and that they arrived in Newfoundland at the ports of St. John's and Placentia.¹

The Irish have never been noted for their pioneering instinct. Wherever they settled, they seem to have had a marked predilection for cities, or for areas already settled. In the United States, they preferred cities like Boston and New York. In Newfoundland, they probably chose to make their homes, when possible, in St. John's, and in towns like Harbour Grace and Carbonear. The "Potato Famine" (1848) immigrants are believed to have settled mainly in these centres, and in areas further north such as King's Cove and Conche.² All we really know is that the Irish eventually settled where we find them today, in St. John's, in Harbour Grace, Carbonear and some smaller settlements in Conception Bay, in St. Mary's Bay and most of Placentia Bay, on the Southern Shore, in a few Fortune Bay communities, and in a number of settlements scattered from Trinity Bay to the west side of the Great Northern Peninsula. They seem to have concentrated most heavily in the Southern Shore-St. Mary's Bay region, for their descendants constitute about ninety-

¹ Information collected by W. Kirwin from harbour records in Waterford.

² Information received from Michael Murphy, Newfoundland Archives.

five per cent, or over, of the total population of this area.

Since a very large majority of the Irish who came to Newfoundland were Roman Catholics, I shall give a brief account of the history of the Catholic Church in Newfoundland. Archbishop Howley says that Jacques Cartier mentions the celebration of Mass at Brest, Labrador, in 1534, the year in which Cartier made his first voyage, but that there are no other records of Catholic worship in the country until we come down to Lord Baltimore's settlement at Ferryland.¹ In 1627, when Baltimore first visited his colony, he was accompanied by three priests, named Smith, Hackett and Longville. There were also French chaplains at Placentia. Rev. P. W. Browne says that "A Franciscan convent, under the jurisdiction of the Father Guardian at Quebec, was established at Placentia (the French capital) in 1692, which provided spiritual ministrations for French fishermen until 1713", when the French gave up their rights in Newfoundland to the British, under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht.²

Father Browne makes reference to the period, before a governor was appointed in 1718, when Newfoundland was ruled by "a soulless oligarchy of Westcountry merchant-

¹ Most Rev. M. F. Howley, "The Roman Catholic Church in Newfoundland", in Prowse, 2d. ed., p. 604.

² Browne, "Talav an Eask", p. 128.

adventurers, whose interests and those of the people were never identical".¹ He says that these adventurers "were bitterly opposed to Catholicism; and the only evidence of its existence in the island is found in enactments against it. Every governor during his term of office seems to have distinguished (or disgraced) himself by a proclamation against the Irish (Catholic and Irish being synonymous terms)". Father Browne goes on to give an account of the extreme religious intolerance of the period around 1755, during the governorship of Hugh Dorril:

One George Tobin was fined ten pounds for inflaming Catholics against Protestants; and a ship's captain was fined a similar amount for hoisting the Irish colours. Dorril, on being informed that a man named Keating, at Harbour Main, had allowed a priest to say Mass in his 'room', ordered that Keating be fined fifty pounds by the surrogate, or 'floating judge'. But this did not seem adequate punishment for the unfortunate Keating; his 'room' was burned, and Keating was ordered to leave the country forthwith. The servants who assisted at Mass were fined ten pounds each, and from the proceeds of the fine a jail was built at Harbour Main.²

If any Irish settlers had come to Newfoundland to get away from religious persecution in Ireland, they found the position of Catholics no better than it had been at home. Dorril issued the following order to a Justice of the Peace

¹ Browne, pp. 128-129.

² Ibid., pp. 129-130.

named Gill:

Not to suffer any Catholic, nor any person employing Catholic servants, to sell intoxicating liquors; also to cause all houses built by Catholics to be demolished; their lands and holdings to be confiscated; as many as possible to be transported; and that those remaining to be prohibited the use of fire-arms.¹

Catholics were barred from holding public office by certain obnoxious oaths, such as the oath denying the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Later proclamations were issued by Governor Palliser; for example, "Popish servants" could remain only in a place where they had served during the summer, no more than two "papists" were allowed to live in a house, unless it was the house of a Protestant, and all children were to be baptized "according to law", which meant that they could only be baptized by an Anglican minister.

There are very few records of the lives of priests who served in Newfoundland before 1784. The names of only five survive. These were Fathers Kean, Lundrigan, Daily, Power and Mahony, all members of the Augustinian Order.²

Father Browne says that these priests were hounded from place to place, and that their privations were similar to those endured in Ireland during the penal days. He mentions the "midnight Rock" at Renew, "beneath which tradition says that one of the old missionaries used to assemble the

¹ Browne, p. 130.

² Ibid., p. 130.

people for the sacred rites" before liberty of conscience was granted to all in 1784.¹

A letter from Dr. Challoner to Rome, dated September 14, 1756, also mentions a member of the Augustinian Order:

And not long ago an Irish Augustinian took out faculties here [London] to go and settle in Newfoundland, for the help of a number of his countrymen that were drawn thither by the fishing trade.²

Another reference to this Irish missionary is dated August 2, 1763:

There was also, for a time, an Irish missionary with faculties from us in the island of Newfoundland, on the Northern Ocean, but when the last war broke out he was expelled by the Protestants.³

When, in 1784, pursuant to a Royal Ordinance, liberty of conscience was allowed to all persons in Newfoundland, it was thought that the Catholic population had now become large enough, and had taken sufficiently permanent root, to demand official recognition from Rome. In that year, Rev. James Louis O'Donel, a Franciscan, and a native of Knocklofty, Co. Tipperary, was appointed Prefect Apostolic of the island by Pope Pius VI.⁴ Dr. O'Donel undertook the

¹ Browne, pp. 130-131.

² Peter Guilday, Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore, New York, 1922, p. 144.

³ Canon Burton, Life and Times of Bishop Challoner, cited in Guilday, p. 148.

⁴ Archbishop Howley in Prowse, p. 605.

task of organizing the Church in Newfoundland. He was given an allowance of seventy-five pounds a year by the British Government. He came out to Newfoundland, leased a house in spite of restrictions, and built "The Old Chapel", the first Catholic institution erected in Newfoundland since the French left Placentia.

Bigotry and intolerance still existed in the island but Dr. O'Donel gradually acquired influence, even in secular matters. In September, 1796, he was consecrated as Bishop at Quebec. He retired and returned to Ireland in 1807, and died there four years later.

At the time of Bishop O'Donel's consecration, the total population of Newfoundland was about 35,000. About three-fourths were Catholic. The spirit of religious persecution had ceased by the time his episcopacy came to an end.

Bishop O'Donel was succeeded by Right Rev. Patrick Lambert, O.S.F., who spent ten years in Newfoundland. "During this time the penal restrictions were considerably relaxed and the population of the place rapidly increased, and society generally began to advance in all the amenities of civilized and social life".¹ During this period, schools of various denominations were established. Dr. Lambert returned to Ireland in 1817.

¹ Archbishop Howley in Prowse, p. 605.

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Right Rev. Thomas Scallan, O.S.F., succeeded Bishop Lambert. He was a native of Wexford, and he served in Newfoundland until his death in 1829. Dr. Scallan was the first bishop to die in the island.

In October, 1829, Father Michael Anthony Fleming was consecrated. Bishop Fleming divided the island into parishes. He brought out from Ireland the Presentation Sisters, in 1833,¹ and the Sisters of Mercy, in 1842. The sisters of both Orders opened schools for girls. During Bishop Fleming's term of office, construction of the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist was begun at St. John's. On January 6, 1850, he celebrated the first Mass at the cathedral.

Father John Thomas Mullock, who was consecrated in Rome in 1847, succeeded Bishop Fleming. Early in 1848 he came out to Newfoundland where he held the episcopal office for twenty years. During this period, he built the Palace at St. John's, St. Bonaventure's College for the education of boys, and convents for the Mercy and Presentation Sisters. When Bishop Mullock arrived in the island there were twenty-four priests. At the time of his death, there were in Newfoundland thirty-five priests, fourteen convents and sixty-five chapels and churches.

¹ Rev. P. W. Browne, "A Noteworthy Centennial", the Irish Ecclesiastical Record, Fifth Series, XLII (July-December, 1933), 11-19.

The Irish on the Southern Shore

It is not known how or when Irish settlers first came to the Southern Shore area. In the absence of records, we can do no more than speculate. It is possible that they came out as servants and were left in St. John's at the end of the season without funds. They might have moved along the shore to nearby harbours and coves, where it would be easier to survive the hardships of the long winter. Perhaps they came as servants to places like Bay Bulls and Ferryland, and when the fishing season ended they preferred to remain in the area. The fishing boats usually left behind winter crews, who built stages and flakes and repaired fishing equipment during the winter. The Irish servants probably made up part of these crews, for, with conditions what they were in Ireland, they had little to return to. With Dorril's proclamation that Roman Catholics be sent back to Ireland at the end of the season, many Irish no doubt took to hiding in out-of-the-way coves and inlets, although there is little evidence to support this view. It is more likely that a combination of some or all of these circumstances led to permanent settlement on the Southern Shore, and in other areas. Once settlement had begun in certain regions, later arrivals would naturally prefer to settle among their countrymen.

It is impossible to determine if settlers came primarily as servants -- "signed on" for a season at a certain wage -- or if they came out on their own to seek employment

when they arrived. There were probably large numbers of both types. Those who came earlier probably "signed on". In oral tradition there are no stories, to my knowledge, of people who came as servants, but since the stories told usually involve immigrating families, it is possible that the men had previously been to Newfoundland as fishing servants.

According to the census of 1836, which gives the first official figures for the area, the total population of the Southern Shore from Bay Bulls to Renews inclusive was 5,111. There were 4,798 Roman Catholics and 313 Protestants. Catholics not employed as servants numbered 3,708, which leaves a total of 1,090 Roman Catholic servants. Of the total Catholic population, something less than one-third were servants. However, a large number of non-servants were probably women and children, so that servants doubtless made up a large proportion of the adult male Catholic population. At that time Irish settlers were still arriving, and the figures seem to suggest that men were still coming out as servants.

Although it is difficult to discover documentary evidence of the settlement of the Irish, records exist which provide some concrete proof of the Irish origin of Southern Shore inhabitants. Foremost among these are the census reports. In 1857, the total population of the area from Bay Bulls to Cape Race was 5,082. All but 396 were born in Newfoundland. Of these, 337 were Irish, 54 were English,

3 were Scottish and 2 were born in the British colonies. In other words, the Irish arrivals outnumbered other nationalities five to one.

According to the Census of 1869, the total population of the area was 5,759. A total of 223 were born outside Newfoundland. 190 came from Ireland, 24 from England, 4 from Scotland, 4 from the colonies and 1 was non-British. Again the Irish outnumbered all others five to one, but the number of people born in Ireland was declining steadily.

Certain parish records which exist in several Southern Shore communities provide additional evidence of Irish settlement in the area. There are today seven parishes extending from Bay Bulls to St. Shotts. Bay Bulls, Tors Cove and Cape Broyle are comparatively new parishes, dating from 1900 and later. They have no records of value. The parishes of Witless Bay and Ferryland are older, but if records did exist in either of these areas, they have been lost or destroyed. However, old records do exist at Renews and Trepassey which have proven of value. The information they give is actually very little, but many entries do give Ireland as the country of origin. The county is also given in most instances, and occasionally the parish or town from whence the entrants came.

The records at Trepassey date back to 1843.¹ The

¹ Used with the permission of Rev. F. J. Mullaney, P.P., Trepassey.

deaths of the following Irish settlers are recorded there:

Michael Corcoran of Kilkenny, Ireland, who died in 1891.

Norah Martin of Middleton, Co. Cork, Ireland, who died in 1895, aged 62.

Mary Molloy, came from Ireland, died in 1910, aged 95.

Patrick Fitzgerald of Co. Cork, died in 1915, aged 78.

James Murphy of Co. Kilkenny, died on Cape Race in 1895, aged 76.

A parishioner named Finlay, St. Shotts, a native of Waterford, Ireland, died in 1891, aged 76. The first name is illegible.

A parishioner named Fitzgerald, from Northern Ireland, died in 1892, aged 86. Here again the first name is illegible.

At Renew's, there is a Marriage Registry which dates back to 1841.¹ It contains entries for Ferryland, Renew's and Fermeuse. Some of the entries for the year 1841 are as follows:

(The blank spaces indicate illegible material).

John Murphy to Mary _____ both of Co. Wexford, Ireland.

Joseph Sullivan of Co. Wexford, Ireland, to Elisa Swayne of Stone Island, N. Caplin Bay. (Presumably, the north side of Calvert).

Garrett Thomas Boland of Ireland _____

Michael O'Toole, _____, Co. Wexford, to Mary D _____ of Renew's.

¹ Used with the permission of Rev. P. J. Lewis, Administrator, Renew's.

Thomas Boland of Ireland to Johanna _____
of Caplin Bay.

Gus Lawlor of Co. Kilkenny, Ireland, to Ann
Hart of Fermeuse,

Stephen Barron of Co. Wexford, Ireland, to
Mary Carrol of Co. Kilkenny, now in Renews.

Michael Dormody of the parish of _____,
Co. Kilkenny, Ireland to Catherine Conway of
the parish of _____.

_____ of Co. Wexford to
Esther McCarthy of Renews.

With regard to these marriages, it is interesting to
note that in every case the bridegroom was a native of
Ireland, while several brides were apparently Newfoundland-
born. It is possible that these men were young fishing
servants who found wives in Newfoundland. The fact that
they are entered in the registry as belonging to Ireland
seems to indicate that they were not considered permanent
settlers of the parish of Renews-Fermeuse.

There is also some information to be obtained from
tombstones. Most communities in the Southern Shore area have
two graveyards, a newer one where people are buried today, and
an older one no longer in use, which is generally spoken of
as "the old graveyard". The latter is usually unfenced and
covered with grass. Most of the stones have disappeared, or
else lie in pieces on the ground. Stones still standing are
often in such poor condition that the inscriptions are hardly
legible. Some valuable data, however, can be gleaned from
inscriptions which survive in both the old and the new burying
places.

I have taken the following from gravestones in several Southern Shore communities:

Renews

Erected by Edward Sheehan in memory of his beloved father, John, died February 21, 1861, age 84.

Also his beloved mother, Mary, died August 26, 1859, age 75.

Also his uncle, John Deegan, died January 18, 1854, age 77.

They were natives of Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny, Ireland.

The old graveyard where the above inscription is found served both Renews and Cappahayden. Members of the Sheehan family still live at Cappahayden.

Ferryland

Erected by Thomas in memory of his father, Valentine Keefe, a native of Tipperary, Ireland, died July 5, 1872, age 80.

Erected by Andrew Keough, in memory of his father, Edward, a native of Co. Wexford, died December 17, 1876, age 80 years, 60 of which he spent in this country.

Elizabeth Forristal, a native of Co. Wexford, Ireland, died September 23, 1894, aged 80 years.

In memory of Mary Forristal, native of Co. Wexford, Ireland, died August 1867, aged 84 years.

Also Luke Brown, a native of Co. Wexford, Ireland, died November, 1869, aged 72 years.

Brigus South

Ann Howlett, a native of Tipperary, died July, 1834, age 46.¹

¹ Mr. James J. O'Brien of Cape Broyle says that Mrs. Howlett was a Fitzgerald before she was married.

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Tors Cove

Thomas Cunningham, born at Carrick-on-Suir, Ireland, died at Tors Cove, December 18, 1903, age 78 years.

Cape Broyle

Martin Cashin, who died October 12, 1893, aged 71.
Also his wife, Bridget, a native of Kilkenny, Ireland, who died May 20, 1903, aged 80 years.

It is interesting to note that almost all these Irish origins are on the rivers served by New Ross, Co. Wexford, and Waterford, Co. Waterford. Towns like Carrick-on-Suir and Thomastown situated on such rivers as the Suir, the Nore and the Barrow, would be located within a fairly short distance of the principal embarkation points. It is possible that "youngsters" seeking employment in the fishery, and later emigrating families, often walked the distance from their homes to ports like Waterford, where they would take passage on ocean-going ships.

Another gravestone inscription worthy of mention is the following:

Erected by Richard Cashin in memory of his grandmother, Ellen Walsh, who died 20th February, 1847, aged 86 years.

Although the fact is not stated, this Mrs. Walsh was a native of Wexford. Her maiden name was Ellen Lyons, and she was the first person to be buried in the cemetery at Cape Broyle. The story of how she came to Cape Broyle is typical of the traditional stories which are told in Southern Shore

communities. I give it, in substance, as it was told by a resident of Cape Broyle:¹

Cape Broyle was permanently settled in the 1780s, when the Walsh, Kelly, Grant and Aylward families settled there. The first O'Briens came shortly after, around 1790. John Walsh and Nellie Lyons were married in County Wexford, Ireland, in 1785. A few months after their marriage they set out for Newfoundland. Their ship arrived near the coast of Newfoundland in the late spring, and was forced into Petty Harbour, a few miles south of St. John's, by arctic ice. They walked ashore on the ice and settled at Petty Harbour. Soon after their arrival, John Walsh went to Brigus South to visit a relative. He happened to visit Cape Broyle, about three miles from Brigus, and decided that he would like to live there. The next year, 1786, he moved to Cape Broyle with his wife and infant son, Michael. That year and the next, the Grants, Kellys and Aylwards also settled.

John and Ellen Walsh had six children, five sons and one daughter. They were named Michael, John, William, Thomas, Richard and Mary.

Michael Walsh married Catherine Grant in 1810, and had a family of two sons and six daughters.

John Walsh married Catherine O'Brien and had three sons and seven daughters.

¹ Told by James J. O'Brien.

William Walsh never married, and Thomas and Richard were lost at the ice-fields in the spring of 1818.

Mary Walsh was born in 1796, and in 1814, a few months before her eighteenth birthday, she married John Cashin. They had five sons and six daughters. Their eldest son, Richard, was born in 1815. He was the father of Sir Michael Cashin, well-known in Newfoundland politics. It was this Richard Cashin who erected the tombstone to the memory of his grandmother, Ellen Walsh. John Walsh, of Wexford, died in 1827, and is buried at Ferryland.

Another story told at Cape Broyle, though with less detail, is that of the Furlong family.¹ Richard Furlong, of Tipperary, married Johanna Doran, at a church in County Galway in 1812. They walked directly from the church to the vessel which was to bring them to Newfoundland. On arriving in Newfoundland, they settled at Cape Broyle. There were Furlongs living at Cape Broyle for many years, although the name does not exist there today.

The Economic and Social Background

The fishing grounds of Newfoundland were well-known in Europe and in the British Isles almost from the time of Cabot's voyage, and visitors who came to Newfoundland came primarily to fish. Many newcomers had probably been fishermen in the old country, but it is likely that for others, fishing

¹ Told by James J. O'Brien.

was a completely new occupation. This seems to have been especially true of the Irish, for in their homeland they had been mostly peasant farmers, earning a meagre living by tilling small patches of land. When they arrived in Newfoundland, however, fishing became their mainstay.

Settlement of the Southern Shore

In order to be as near as possible to the fishing grounds, the early settlers in most communities lived close to the water and usually "down the shore", that is, not at "the head of the bay" but along the shore of the bays or coves around which most settlements are built. In Mobile, for example, the Nolan family lived well down on the north side of the harbour. On the south side, the Quirks lived in Deep Cove, and the Powers, Mahers and McGraths in Cod Seine Cove.¹ The Vales lived near Tinkers Point and the Kearneys near Kearneys Point. A man named Nix Lamford, generally known by the nickname Black Nix, lived below Tinkers Point, according to my father, "in the bight just on this side of the Cribbies". "The Cribbies" is a cove which now forms part of the community of Tors Cove. It is known today as St. Joseph's. The Vale, McGrath and Kearney families

¹ Such coves are small inlets of a harbour. Most of the old names are still in use. In order to lend a tone of authenticity, a great number of the phrases and idioms of the people are incorporated in the following description, placed in quotation marks.

eventually left Mobile, and the Nolans and Quirks moved "up the harbour". "Nolans Hayhouse" is still standing in the meadow down the north shore where the family once lived. Vales Meadow and Kearneys Point and Kearneys Beach are still local landmarks.

My father remembers the old road, really only a footpath, which followed the shore from settlement to settlement. It went down the south side of Witless Bay through Gallows Cove, up over the hill called Twelve o'Clock, up the north side of Mobile, and then down the south side through Cod Seine Cove and Deep Cove. It continued on, taking in Kearneys Point and Vales Meadow near Tinkers Point, and from there on into the Cribbies and Tors Cove. Part of this road is still in use by present-day residents of Cod Seine Cove as an alternate route to the main highway. Locally it has always been known as the Lower Road or the Lower Way.

In Calvert, in the earliest times that we know of, there were settlers in Stone Island, which is really the eastern extremity of the north shore. It is about one and a half miles from the community of Calvert. The last residents of Stone Island were two members of the Wade family, maiden sisters who stayed behind in their old home when their neighbours moved up the harbour. They lived in the "linnie" of the house and kept two cows. When the older sister died and the cows "perished", the younger woman was left all

alone. She remained there for several years, but one stormy night late in the fall, the roof was blown off her house. She had to seek shelter in the woods, where she was found the next morning wet and cold, but none the worse for her experience. The men of Calvert built her a house farther up in the settlement, where she lived until her death a few years later.¹

It is impossible to say exactly when certain families came to the communities where they are found today. Family tradition is the only source of information. The Dillons, for example, lived on Ship Island, off Tors Cove, before they finally settled in Mobile. The Blacklers were another family who moved to Mobile from Tors Cove. My father's great grandfather, Stephen Dillon, had four sons. When they came to Mobile, probably during the 1830s or 1840s, they cut wood and made a garden in Riverhead. They piled limbs around the big stumps and burned them out of the ground. They built a log house, and when the land had been cleared they set potatoes. My father remembers his grandfather, Frankie Dillon, who died around 1906, but cannot recall his place of birth, except that it was probably Newfoundland. In a day when doctors were few, old Frankie was well-known on the Southern Shore for his skill in setting broken bones. People

¹ From an account at the Newfoundland Historical Society by Mary A. Walsh of Calvert.

used to come to him from nearby communities with broken arms and legs. He was widely known as "Frankie Dillon the bone-setter".

My father has more information about the origin of his mother's family, the Hartwells. As a boy he heard their story from his grandfather, Peter Hartwell. They came over from Ireland in the 1820s, in a boat which my father recalls as the "Sea Rover". About 120 settlers, including women and children, came together from County Wexford. The Fitzgibbon and McCarthy families stayed in St. John's. The others followed the coast "up" the Southern Shore. During the day they made what progress they could over the rough terrain, and when darkness came on they made a fire and built shelters of boughs for the night. When they reached Witless Bay, the Tobins decided to settle there. My mother's maternal grandfather, Dennis Tobin, a member of the party, was a young boy of perhaps nine or ten at the time. The Hartwells, Fitzgeralds, Vales and Quirks continued on to Mobile. When they saw the kelp on the rocks they realized that it would be good for the gardens, so they decided to make their homes there. The Hartwell family consisted of James, the father, his wife, and three children. Young Peter was nine at the time. When he died in 1909, he was in his nineties.

It seems that there were no settlers in Mobile when the aforementioned immigrants arrived. One old man by the name of Tobin lived some distance in the woods. He lived by

himself in a house which was built over a large cellar. For many years after, a hill near his dwelling was called Tobins Hill. Nobody seems to know what became of this man. He probably died and was buried in the old graveyard, which was situated near the water, on the Lower Road. Not a single stone remains in this graveyard today. In most communities, the old graveyard was always near the water's edge, quite close to the dwelling houses. This would seem to suggest that the settlers thought little of the future. They probably never considered that the communities would grow and become permanent.

Some of the local place-names are suggestive of settlers who once lived in certain areas but whose families either moved away or died out. In Mobilê two puzzling names are Hennesseys Beach and Laracys Hill. The name Laracy does not exist on the Southern Shore today and Hennessey is found only at Bay Bulls. It is possible that these were the names of some of the old men who seem to have come to some communities to live out their days in solitude. Why they came, nobody knows. They seem to have been men of mystery even to their contemporaries.

A Livelihood from Fishing and Farming

Although the Irish who settled the Southern Shore engaged in the fishery, they apparently profited by former experience in farming. From various accounts that I have

heard from older residents, it seems that people who lived in the area about a century ago were far from poverty-stricken. Men in their sixties and seventies still repeat accounts that they have heard from their parents and grandparents. By today's criteria, the standard of living was low. There were no luxuries, and most families had no worldly possessions of value, but there was a good supply of food. Fish was one of the basic food items. Cod, caplin and herring could be pickled, salted and dried for winter use, and salmon was plentiful in the spring and summer. When the season was right, rabbits and sea birds were caught. All kinds of edible berries were preserved. The Newfoundland growing season was short and the soil was poor, but the amount of available land was almost limitless. This circumstance must have heartened any Irish settlers who were accustomed to small, miserable plots at home. The soil could be improved by hauling additional clay or "bog" to the gardens. Kelp, caplin, dogfish and the offal of cod made excellent fertilizers. An especially potent fertilizer was made by mixing offal with bog. In most communities the mixture was called "composs" (compost), but in Mobile, and in Cappahayden, it was known as "moryeen".

Every family owned several patches of land. Near the dwelling was the "cabbage garden" where cabbage, carrots, parsnips, onions, peas and other vegetables were grown. These gardens were tended mostly by the women. Farther away,

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behind or at either end of the settlement, were large meadows which supplied hay for cattle. Such meadows usually had a large cultivated section where potatoes and turnips, the staple vegetables, were raised. Unless the growing season proved to be very poor, each family usually had an adequate vegetable crop.¹

The men mowed the hay and did most of the planting and harvesting. The women spread the hay and "made it up". They also did most of the weeding. Women worked at the fish after the men had washed it and had put it on the "flakes" to dry.² They spread it and made it up into "faggots". Many women did much heavier work, such as hauling and cutting wood.

In the fall, staple foods, including flour, pork and molasses, were bought in St. John's or obtained from a local merchant. The fall was the time for getting in "the winter's grub". When the fishery was over for the season and the winter supplies were in, there was usually no money, for fishermen had accounts with the merchants, who gave out supplies in return for fish.³ The lack of ready cash, however,

¹ The Census of 1891 gives the number of farmers in the Southern Shore area as 6. Presumably these engaged almost solely in farming.

² The Census of 1891 records 478 females working at the fishery.

³ Newfoundland Royal Commission 1933 Report, pp. 79-80.

was not a great hardship. The food supply would last well into the spring, and most articles of clothing were made at home from wool.

It is a bit difficult to establish exactly when people began keeping cattle and other animals. My father thinks that his great-grandfather and the others who came to Mobile in the 1820s brought some animals with them. He believes that he once heard how they brought animals from Ireland, but he is not sure of this. Considering the circumstances under which the Irish left their homeland, it seems unlikely that it was so. New settlers probably bought their livestock from neighbours or from nearby settlements.

There is no doubt, however, that large numbers of farm animals were kept. According to the census of 1836, which provides the earliest figures available, a total of 402 cattle, 112 horses, 103 hogs and 172 sheep were kept, even at this early date, in the area from Bay Bulls to Renew. Older residents now recall that almost every family had at least one pig, while others had as many as three or four. Before cows became common, goats were kept for milk. Almost every family had a goat and a few kids. Horses came later than the other animals. My father remembers that his grandfather, Frankie Dillon, had a horse. A man named Conway kept a mule. This was unusual, and the expression "Conway's mule" was a localism for years. When cows were first kept they were bought mostly in St. John's. The men used to go

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out over the road and drive them home. The distance from St. John's to Mobile was approximately twenty-five miles. The men usually did the buying for the family, but the story is told of Mary Fitzgerald, an Irish-born resident of Mobile, who made several trips to St. John's to buy cattle. Accompanied only by her young son, John, who would be over a hundred years old today, she bought the cattle and drove them home. A horse and cart might be used to make the trip, but it was not unusual for people to go on foot.

Animals were usually fed only hay. A man would have to be well off to buy oats for his horse. Table scraps were fed to the pigs and hens. Goats later became unpopular because it was difficult to keep them out of vegetable gardens. It became a common practice to put a home-made triangular piece of wood, called a yoke, around a goat's neck. The yoke prevented her getting through the fences, and made it impossible for her to take away gates with her horns.

Houses and Building

There was no scarcity of wood when the Irish settlers first came to the Southern Shore. The trees grew almost down to the shoreline, except where land had been cleared by earlier residents. Building materials for houses, fish stores, flakes and boats were close at hand, and for many years the practice of "going in the woods" was unknown. My father believes that there were many among the "old fellows"

who never saw any of the ponds in the area. As far back as he can remember himself, however, about 1905 or 1906, men from Mobile were going in over the nearby ponds in the winter to cut firewood and lumber.

People knew how to work together in the early days. It is not known if any settlers had had any training for particular types of work. It is likely, however, that some men knew a little about such trades as carpentry, boat building, butchering and blacksmith work. According to local tradition much of the work of the community was undertaken as a joint project. If a settler's land had not been cleared, all the men got together to clear it. Everybody worked at the construction of a house. Through the same united efforts wells were dug, and flakes, stages, stables and cellars were built.¹

It is believed that the first houses were built of logs. Jim O'Brien of Cape Broyle says that the Walsh family had a log house at that community. At first there were no metal nails, and all the early houses were "trenneled". To hold two boards or planks together, a hole was bored through them with a one-and-a-half inch auger. A wooden trennel was driven into the hole. A trennel was probably over a foot long, and about an inch or more in diameter. It was tapered

¹ Cellar, an underground storeroom for vegetables covered by four walls and a roof. Older cellars often had only two walls, for the pointed roof extended to the ground on either side.

at one end but was not pointed, for if it were too sharp the planks would split. When the trennel had been driven in, the part still protruding was sawed off. As late as 1966 an old store, done with trennels, was torn down in Cape Broyle. It had been built of spruce and had stood for about a hundred years.

Some houses were "studded", that is, they were built by standing "studs" or uprights on end. Most houses were low, and the studs extended from the floor to the eave, a distance of probably eight or nine feet. When wallpaper was introduced, it was used on some studded houses, but the walls of many remained bare. The spaces between the studs were "stogged" with moss to keep out the wind and cold. It is generally agreed that these studded walls were very neatly done -- as my father puts it, as neatly "as the planks on a boat".

At first houses were roofed with sods, rushes or "rinds" of fir or "var". The rinds would be laid one over the other like shingles. The size of a rind, of course, would depend on the size of the tree from which it was taken. Most houses had pointed roofs, which allowed rain water to run off before it had a chance to seep through the roof. My father cannot remember sod roofs on houses, but he often saw cellar roofs covered with sods. Sods were also used to bank the lower parts of the houses, especially in the fall before the cold winter came. Shingles sawed locally later replaced

sods or rinds on the roofs. The shingles were covered with a mixture of tar and cod oil to prevent splitting.

All early houses had peaked roofs. At the back of the house there was usually a "linnie" or "back-house". This extended only part way up the back and was usually built on when the house was erected. In some cases the linnie was added later. My father remembers two styles in house-fronts. The earlier one had a door at the side and three windows. Inside the door was a small hall or "porch". The three windows were spaced along the house-front. Two were in the kitchen and the other in a bedroom next to the kitchen. The porch was small because the rest of the space on the entrance end of the house was occupied by the chimney, rising from the kitchen. There was usually an attic upstairs, but there were no other rooms. A later style of house-front had the door in the middle and a window on each side. I remember this style myself, for there were several houses of this type still standing when I was a child.

The walls under the houses were made of rock. An old house, still occupied in Mobile, was built by Larry Nolan just before flat roofs came in. Mr. Nolan paid men eighty cents a day to carry rock from the Slate Quarry, near Mobile River, for the wall under the house. In an earlier day, houses were built on "shores" or piles, as fish stages continued to be built for many years.

Another type of house which came later had bay-

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windows. These usually had "bell-cast roofs". A few of these houses can still be seen in various Southern Shore communities. The roof was slightly rounded, and it extended in a concave line below the eaves on the back and front of the house. This concave section was shingled and it continued downward for a distance of about from one-quarter to one-third of the height of the house. Another roof-type was the saddle-roof. This was pointed but the back section was much longer than the front.

Some early houses had no flooring. The house was usually built on a height of land. Floors would be built up a couple of feet higher with gravel. The passage of many feet over these floors set and hardened the gravel which eventually became almost as solid as concrete. When wood floors were first used, they were usually crudely made of rough-hewn boards, although some houses had beautiful white floors, probably of hemlock. Most floors were sanded. Sand would be sifted and carried from the beach to be put on after scrubbing. Before the next scrubbing it would be swept up and thrown away. For Sunday and for special occasions the sand on a floor would be combed or waved into decorative patterns or designs. An elderly resident of Cappahayden says that all the women would be competing with one another "a spell ago, to see who'd have the best floor waved of a Sunday".

It was probably during the 1860s that stoves first

came into general use, maybe later. In earlier times every house had a fireplace. The chimney for the fireplace was quite large, almost as big as a modern kitchen. As the chimney rose toward the roof of the house it gradually tapered. Chimneys were built of square rocks held together by clay. Dog-irons rested on rocks underneath. During cooking the pots and kettles were hung on an iron bar. My father remembers seeing the large, old-fashioned chimneys in some of the older houses when he was a boy. He recalls seeing dog-irons in his grandfather's house.

In house-building there was a custom that is worthy of note. It was believed that a house should be built so that it faced the rising sun. Not all old houses were built this way, but there are in Mobile today, five houses built one behind the other, all facing east, and all "end on" to the road. They are all at least fifty years old.

It was many years before paint was commonly used. A widely used paint substitute was "whitewash", a chalky substance which was probably kaolin. People from many parts of the Shore used to go to St. Michaels, known then as Caplin Bay, to get it from the cliffs there. My mother recalls that it was a common practice for the women to go up to Caplin Bay in the spring to get a bag of whitewash. The substance was mixed with water, and applied with a brush. It was used to paint ceilings and sometimes walls, although it would rub off even when dry, as does lime. Lime was used

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on fences and on the outside of buildings, but it was never used inside a house. The whitewash was mixed with dye or laundry blue if variety of colour were desired. Another substitute for paint was kalsomine, which could be bought by the pound.

Glass was unknown for many years, and some sort of oiled paper was used in windows. Glass was introduced probably a hundred years ago. The first glass was of a very poor quality; it usually had bubbles, or was in some way flawed.

Even in the early years of the twentieth century, people spent very little on home furnishings. Tables were often made from boxes. My mother remembers seeing tables in Witless Bay made from wooden boxes. A box would be obtained from a storekeeper. The legs for the table would be chopped and shaped by one of the men, but women often finished the job. The box would be laid over the table-legs, and nails driven into the four corners to hold the legs in place. When the table was finished it was covered with a tablecloth. Such tables often lasted for years. Articles of furniture such as stools, chairs and wash-stands were also homemade. Barrels were used to make rocking chairs. These were commonly known as "barrel-chairs". Barrels sawed in half served as cribs for small babies. A cradle could be made by adding rockers.

Other Kinds of Work

Southern Shore residents of from fifty to a hundred years ago obviously possessed qualities, probably born of necessity, sadly lacking in many present-day inhabitants. They showed great ingenuity in using their physical environment to meet their needs, and at times they displayed great physical strength and vigour. Both men and women had to work hard.

The men built their own boats, sometimes in a remarkably short time.¹ My father recalls how two brothers, Dave and Pad Kennedy, built a skiff for his father and Dan Quirk, the man who fished with him, in only fourteen days. They cut and hauled the wood, sawed it into planks and built the boat. On the fifteenth day it was launched. Large pit saws were used for such work as making shingles, splitting planks and for sawing "the stuff of boats". A pit saw had two handles, for it was worked by two men. It was probably eight or nine feet long, quite wide, and smaller at one end. "The stick was dogged down, lashed down, on the saw-horse. There was a bench along on each side you could walk on. You'd saw along a line marked with 'red ochre'".

Making and mending fences was another occupation which engaged the men. Materials for fencing were always

¹ The Census of 1884 gives the number of boats built for the year as 32. A 29-ton vessel was built at Bay Bulls.

obtained locally. Several types of fences are noteworthy. Jim O'Brien says that fences were once made by cutting down "sticks" and leaving them kind of "limby".¹ These would be piled one on the other and tied with "gads" when the pile was high enough to keep out animals. Such fences were fairly sturdy. Gads were used in large quantities for fences and flakes. These "witrod gads" were long, slender and flexible. In the words of Mr. O'Brien, they were "slight, like a telegraph wire". "Longers" in fences were also tied with gads. They would last only for a year or two; then the longers would have to be retied. "Riddlin' fences" were also common. These were made probably as late as fifty or sixty years ago. A few riddlin' fences are still to be found in Southern Shore communities. They were made in much the same way as longer fences. Stakes were driven into the ground and longers, the trunks of small trees about an inch in diameter, were nailed to the stakes. Gads were woven or "riddled" in and out through the longers, so that sheep and goats could not get through.

Washing clothes was one of the most difficult chores for the women. Those who were lucky enough to live near a river or stream did their washing there in the summer. Even those who lived some distance away used to bring their clothes to the river. To get the dirt out, the clothes were

¹ Sticks, the "pared out" trunks of small trees.

beaten with a "bittle", a flat piece of wood narrowed at one end where it was grasped in the hand. Wash-tubs were made from pork barrels sawed in half, and every home had one of these. Wooden wash-boards were used to get clothes clean. These were later replaced by glass wash-boards, and when they first came into use, they were proudly displayed by their owners, who always put them outside to dry in the sun, much to the chagrin of the less fortunate neighbours.

Soap was available at stores in the late eighteen hundreds, but the most efficacious soap was made from lye. In the earlier days, the lye was obtained from wood ashes, but Gillett's lye was available later. The soap was made from animal fat. When enough fat had been saved from cooking, the fat and lye mixture was boiled. The liquid was then drained off and allowed to set. When it had hardened it was cut into bars of soap. Sometimes enough soap was made for several months. Lye soap was made as late as the 1930s, probably later.

Toilet soap, or "face and hands soap" as some of the older people still call it, was not in common use until probably as late as the 1880s. My mother tells the story of an old lady in Witless Bay whose daughter was living in the United States. While home on a visit, the girl washed her face one morning with a fragrant-smelling soap. When she had finished washing, she threw out the water. Her mother remarked with some surprise, "You didn't heave out the lovely drop o'scented water!"

During the winter months the women and girls were occupied with knitting and making "mats". Wool was carded and spun at home. Then it was knitted into clothing, principally into socks and "cuffs", or mitts. Every housewife was proud of her mats, or small hooked rugs. Mats were made in many decorative and original designs, and there was great competition among the ladies with regard to quality and quantity. The greatest drawback to mat-making was the scarcity of cloth. A particularly fine but long-wearing mat could be made by substituting "brin" (burlap) from "brin-bags" or sacks for cloth.

Until fairly recent times, almost everything that was used was home-made. There were, for example, many home-made remedies, some of which had a certain amount of medicinal value. The "buds" of the alder were boiled to make an ointment for cracked hands. This was used by fishermen during the fishing season. For relief from a cold, kerosene was rubbed on the chest. A mixture of kerosene and molasses was boiled and taken in small amounts for a cough. There were also many cures and remedies which belong strictly to the realm of superstition. Most of the cures for warts are examples.

Some Improvements in Fishing Methods

Although the fishing industry has changed its methods very little since the earliest times, several

significant changes must be noted. Prior to about 1880 seines were used in the cod fishery. A skiff in those days had a crew of eight men, for the seines were large and heavy. Their use is an indication that fish was plentiful. Jim O'Brien of Cape Broyle says that fishermen used to get as much as a hundred quintals at a time. The crews left the settlement very early in the morning, long before daylight, because they had to row to the fishing grounds. When they reached the grounds they would haul the seines. Then they would return home with the fish.

Traps were first used about 1880.¹ My father's uncles, Bill and Bert Hartwell, had a trap which they used to set at Mobile Point. This was probably some time during the early 1880s, for they were both lost at sea in 1886. "Trap men" usually didn't leave for the grounds as early in the morning as the seine crews. A much smaller amount of fish was normally taken from traps. However, trap-fishing was generally considered much better than such other methods as "hand-lining" and trawling. Traps eventually replaced seines everywhere on the Southern Shore. Cod seines have not been used for probably sixty years or more. At first twine for traps was often obtained by cutting up the old seines and "knitting the twine" into the traps.

¹ The Census of 1884 gives 199 traps in use and 732 nets and seines.

Marine engines were first used about 1900. These eliminated the laborious task of rowing to the fishing grounds. There are many amusing stories connected with the introduction of engines, for in those days little was known about the operation of machinery. Some local fishermen spoke of their engines as if they were living things like horses, cursing their stubbornness and their contrariness. Few people knew how to operate them properly, and the first engines were badly misused. My father tells a story about old Sam Blackler, who had one of the first engines in Mobile. Late one summer, near the end of the fishing season, Sam's supply of lubricating oil was rapidly running out. One morning he noticed that there was scarcely enough oil to last for the trip to and from the fishing ground. Sam went anyway, saying to the engine, "You're gettin' lots of oil all the summer. You should be able to make one trip without any." In spite of their contrary dispositions, however, marine engines were a great asset to fishermen.

A "Two-class" Society

As far as I can determine, all the settlers who came to the Southern Shore were of the same lowly, peasant origin. What the circumstances of any family might have been in Ireland is impossible to ascertain. Some were, no doubt, better off financially than others, but the fact that they came out to Newfoundland indicates that they wished to

improve their condition. Almost every community, however, gradually developed into a two-class society. Most settlements had a merchant.¹ A merchant was there from the beginning, for the fishery could not operate without capital supplied by him. In the eighteenth century he was probably English, but later he was probably a representative of the Irish merchants in St. John's, who were rich, influential men.² The merchant's family constituted the local "upper class". Besides taking the fish and giving out supplies in return, the merchants usually dispensed road-work and other forms of government employment. Because of their position in the community they demanded certain tokens of respect from the ordinary fishermen. The story is told locally of a man who went to see a merchant about a job he hoped to get, working on the road. He entered the office wearing his cap. He was told to go out and to come in again and to take off his cap when he entered.

Next in position to the merchants, and also constituting part of the "upper class", were the fishermen who owned one or two traps and who "shipped" trap crews. The shipped men were at the bottom of the social scale. If

¹ The Census of 1891 gives 19 merchants and traders in the area.

² See, for example, the list of Catholic laymen petitioning for a bishop for Newfoundland, 1784, in Philip O'Connell, "Dr. James Louie O'Donnell (1737-1811) First Bishop of Newfoundland", the Irish Ecclesiastical Record, Fifth Series, CIII (1965), 308-324.

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they lived far from home, were unmarried and living alone, or if their families were very poor, it was agreed that they would eat at their master's house. In most cases they ate at the family table, but in some homes they sat at a separate table, often in the hallway, or, as it was commonly called, the porch.

In my grandmother's time, girls used to "ship" for the summer. They worked mostly in the houses as maids, but they often worked at the fish on the flakes. My father's cousin worked one summer for the family who lived next door to her own. Her mistress believed that she was altogether too friendly with one of the sons; so she warned her to "keep away from Dan", that she was not "his equals". The boy and girl had gone to school together, and had known each other all their lives. Fortunately for the girl's ego, she had a sharp tongue, and she could often make the woman look ridiculous. There were, however, many examples of what one woman used to refer to as "empty pride". To an extent it exists even to the present day.

Social Life in Earlier Times

According to older Southern Shore residents, people years ago really knew how to enjoy themselves. In the fall when the fishing season was over "balls" were held at the houses in the settlement. My father says that this custom started with the "old Irish people". Some years

a dozen or more balls would be held. The women, especially the unmarried girls, made all the arrangements for these. There would be a supper and a dance that might continue until after midnight, which was considered very late. In the fall all families had a plentiful supply of fresh vegetables, and somebody always had a sheep that could be killed for the supper.

My father remembers that when he was young "there was a dance somewhere every second night". The practice continued up to and during World War I. He says that "after that everything changed". In every settlement there was at least one house that was well-known for the number of "house-dances" held there. When a man built a new house it was customary to have the priest bless it before the family moved in. House-dances became so common that the priests began to object to them. My father says that "it got so bad Father O'Driscoll wouldn't bless a house unless they promised there would be no dances in it". This was before 1900 because Father O'Driscoll died in 1899, the year after my father was born. He was so ill at the time of my father's birth, that his brother, Father Stephen O'Driscoll, although assigned to another parish, did most of his work, including the christenings.

Wedding receptions were usually held in the bridegroom's new house, or in the home of a relative. The reception often continued for two or three days, especially

in the fall and winter. Rum was always bought by the gallon, and often by the puncheon. Everyone looked forward to the "time" that went with a wedding. The young boys of the community, even boys as young as nine and ten, always went to the dances. They would always get "something to eat" but at about nine o'clock someone would "turn 'em home". The boys would stay as long as possible.

Mrs. Mary O'Brien of Cape Broyle tells about the "bankers dances" that she remembers from her youth. American bankers, fishing on the Grand Banks, used to come into Cape Broyle for bait, especially in August and September. While they were at anchor, a dance would be held for the men. For several months the bankers came in every two or three weeks. Mrs. O'Brien often went to these dances herself. They would end early, around ten o'clock or ten-thirty. She comments that today a dance is only starting at that hour.

There were few musicians in those days to play for dances. A man from Witless Bay, Martin Armstrong, used to play the accordion, and in nearby settlements he was in great demand. He would play for a dance if he were promised two dollars. At a dance someone went around with a hat, saying, "ten cents for the fiddler". Each man who wanted to dance would pay ten cents. When no "musicianer" was available, someone would sing or hum dance music. This singing was known as "cheek music". My father recalls that

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his cousins, Jack and Min Kennedy, and three brothers named Carey used to supply such music. These singers got no payment.

The most festive season of the year was Christmas, and one of the most popular customs associated with it was "mumming". As early as September, the "mummers" or "fools" or, as they were known in some areas, "morgans", would begin to make their costumes. The young men would get ribbons and trimmings of all kinds from the girls to make masks. During the Christmas season, they went around from house to house every night in disguise. It was usually the men who went mumming, especially those who liked "a drop o'rum", and wherever the mummers went they were liberally "treated". Some mummers did not take the time to make elaborate costumes. When the time came to "rig out" they would put on old, discarded garments that would disguise them. In Mobile, these were known as "streels", but in Ferryland, they were called "on behind people" because "they left it on the long-finger to get ready". Such mummers usually followed along behind the others.

The "raffle" was another form of social activity in former times. These were common as late as the 1920s and 1930s, perhaps later. A sheep or lamb or maybe some hens would be "raffled off" by playing cards or by "three throws" of the dice. The proceeds usually went to a poor family or to a widow who lived alone. Raffles were held in local

houses. Sometimes a dance would be held with the raffle to attract a larger crowd.

Customs and Superstitions

The Southern Shore people of olden times had many customs and held numerous superstitious beliefs which are practically unknown today. There are, however, some beliefs which still persist. These are found principally among older people. There were many beliefs and practices associated with death. My mother remembers when her fifteen year old sister died in 1910. The blinds were drawn on all the windows in the house for about a year. This was a common practice. To put the blinds up was considered a mark of disrespect. When a death occurred in a family even the children wore black. It was believed that when a person died his clothes must be given to a friend or relative, and that the recipient had to wear the clothing on three consecutive Sundays before the departed soul could rest. My grandmother firmly believed this, for when my uncle and my grandfather died she hastily gave away their clothing.

Omens of death were common and took many different forms. The most common was three knocks often heard at the door or somewhere around the house shortly before a death. Another "sure sign of a death" was a "fetch". To see a fetch meant that you saw someone's double, usually in a place that he was likely to be, or doing something that was

customary for him, although at the time he was actually in another place. There are many stories of fetches that have been seen. My father tells a story about Jim Kennedy, who was on his way home one evening in the summer of 1898 to get his "mug up". A short distance from his house he noticed his wife, my father's aunt, sitting on a big rock in the garden. He had often seen her sit there before, but it was strange that she should be there at meal-time. He was a bit miffed, and thought to himself that she should be in the house getting his meal ready. However, he didn't call out or speak to her. When he went inside she was standing by the table cutting bread. A week or so later, the woman died suddenly.

Another harbinger of death was "the bibe", which Jim O'Brien describes as "a kind of a cryin' sound". He says that "it used to follow the Irish people", but would only be heard before the death of a person who "had an O to his name", for example, O'Brien or O'Keefe. Mrs. Nellie Colbert of Bauline describes it as "some kind of a bird that used to whistle or make some kind of a sound".

There were many beliefs that certain articles or certain practices brought bad luck, usually a death. If a woman put green blinds to her windows, disaster was sure to strike the family. The example is still cited of one house where three people died with "consumption" within a couple of years. Another belief was that if you "buy a broom in May,

you sweep your family all away". I have heard of no examples to "prove" this, but to this day my own mother will not buy a broom in May, nor will she allow anyone to buy her one.

Beliefs in fairies and ghosts were probably the most common of all superstitious beliefs. Belief in ghosts is still common on the Southern Shore, even among young people in the twenties and thirties. I have collected dozens of stories of ghosts that have been seen and heard within the past twenty years. The fairies, however, seem to have disappeared, although stories about them are still told. Years ago every settlement had several people who had "had a blast". Such unfortunates had been "fairy struck", that is, they had been taken away or affected in some way by fairies. Such people were considered "not right". A person who had been struck by fairies often died soon after. Children especially were in great danger from fairies. There is a story of one little boy in Witless Bay who was taken out of the yard where he had been left to play. He was found later on the other side of a large marsh which he could not have crossed by himself. Every evening afterward, when the hour of his disappearance came around, he would go to the window and beat on it as if he were making signs to someone. He turned black and blue all over, and he eventually "pined away" and died. There are also a few stories of "changelings", where the real child had been taken away and

a substitute left in its place. The substitute is always described as ugly and deformed. My father tells a story about a family in LaManche who had lost a child in this way. Months later the real child was returned unharmed. In several settlements, Ferryland for example, I have heard people say to a dull, awkward, or insolent child, "I believe you were swapped."

A person who carries a piece of bread in his pocket or somewhere on his person will not be harmed by fairies. My mother often put bread in my pocket when I went out to play, as a child. She never told me what I was to do with the bread. Presumably, having it on one's person afforded protection. The belief varies in different communities. Some believe that the fairies will take only the bread; others claim that the bread must be given to them.

If someone saw fairies or a ghost or had any kind of strange experience with the supernatural, it was customary to give him "salt and water". Salt was mixed with some water in a cup, and the "victim" took three sips. The remaining part of the mixture was then thrown into the fire in three parts, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. My mother once gave salt and water to my brother and me. We were playing outdoors one winter evening just about sunset. We were some distance from the house, and we thought we heard someone say, "Go home", two or three times. It frightened us and we ran home. When we told what had

happened we were given the salt and water.

The most recent account of fairies that I have heard comes from my brother's wife, a native of Witless Bay. The story she relates concerns her brother, now in his early thirties, who at the time was about nine. One evening in the winter, the boy went to meet his father who had spent the day in the woods cutting firewood. The path led past the foundation wall of the old railway station, and when he reached the wall around sunset, the boy, Buddy, sat down to wait. He had been sitting there for only a few minutes when a crowd of young boys, about his own age, came running out of the woods. They gathered around him and asked him to play with them. He refused to go with them but they kept insisting. Finally they ran away. The boy was sitting there numb with fright when his father came along and found him. The strange boys had been dressed in ordinary clothes, but the boy recognized none of them, although he had been in school several years, and would have recognized any child from the settlement. The family made inquiries, but no one could ever explain who the boys were or where they had come from. It is believed locally that they were fairies.

Education and the Influence of the Church

A hundred years ago, and later, very few Southern Shore people had any education. Many were unable to read or write, while others could read but had never learned to

write.¹ Every community had a letter-writer or two. If a woman wanted to send a letter to a son or daughter in the States, she would go to the man or woman who usually wrote letters and dictate what she wanted to say. There are many humorous anecdotes connected with such letters. Sometimes one might be fortunate enough to have a friend in a nearby community who could write. It was a common practice to ask this friend over from time to time to write letters. The latter course insured greater privacy of correspondence. The story is told in Mobile of one woman who had learned to read. She delighted in reading story-books for crowds who would gather at her house. At the end of a particularly touching passage she would lay the book aside and cry into her handkerchief for several minutes. The women and young girls present would be as much affected as she was, but the boys and men gathered in the corner would roar with laughter at the display.

As a boy, Jim O'Brien went to school to Mr. Con Hartery, "the old master", who taught at Cape Broyle. "About 1860 he went teachin' or 1870. He gave up around 1900." John Hussey taught after Mr. Hartery. He received about two hundred dollars a year from the government, and his pension when he retired amounted to about a hundred

¹ According to the Census of 1874, 3,023 people could read and write, out of the total population of 6,419.

dollars a year. Before there was a real master, people with a little education often held school in their own homes.¹ During the 1840s a man named Kelly taught many Cape Broyle residents to read and write. It is believed that Mr. Kelly got his "learning" in Ireland. Nobody knows today if such teachers received any payment, but it is unlikely that they did.

Probably the biggest boon to education on the Southern Shore was the coming of the Presentation Sisters.² On September 23, 1853, Mother Mary Bernard Kirwan of Galway, Ireland, founded a convent at Admirals Cove, Fermeuse. She died there on February 27, 1857, but other sisters remained for many years. One of these was Sister Mary Magdalene O'Neill, a native of the settlement, who died on October 27, 1861. A stone which still stands in the old graveyard at Admirals Cove, now renamed Port Kirwan, marks the burying place of these two pioneer sisters. On August 18, 1876, the nuns moved to a new convent at Renew, where Sister Mary Joseph O'Donnell was the Superior. She and four other sisters taught sixty-five pupils that year. The following year one hundred pupils attended the school. In October,

¹ The Census of 1836 gives 5 male pupils at Cape Broyle, but no school. Renew, Fermeuse, Witless Bay and Bay Bulls had 1 school each, while Ferryland had 2.

² See Rev. P. W. Browne, "A Noteworthy Centennial", pp. 11-19.

1858, a convent was opened at Ferryland. The gravestones of the first sisters of this convent can still be seen in a small plot behind the parish church. Convents were also opened at Witless Bay and Trepassey. The convent of the Sisters of Mercy, opened at Bay Bulls during the 1920s, was the last one established on the Southern Shore.

Before the 1920s it was unusual for a student to spend more than five or six years in school. Boys had to work at the fishery and girls had work to do at home. The curriculum, particularly in those communities which had no convent school, offered no more than the equivalent of the modern Grade Eight.¹ My grandmother and other girls of her age used to walk from Mobile to the convent school in Witless Bay, a distance of about two and a half miles. As nearly as I can determine, the time would be about 1880. Boys of my grandmother's generation learned to read and write, but they learned little beyond that. Even at the convents opportunities were quite limited. In my mother's time, pupils at Witless Bay school could go only as far as "the Sixth Book". After six years in school, many bright students had no hope of continuing their education. It seems likely that many sisters who taught at convent schools outside St. John's were the less educated members of the congregation.

¹ I am assuming here that this grade is fairly standard in all parts of North America.

As far back as the 1890s, and earlier, clever students were given some opportunity for higher education. In most parishes, a girl who showed ability was usually sent to St. Bride's College, Littledale, a boarding school for girls in St. John's. The expenses were paid by the parish, with the understanding that the student would teach for a certain number of years when she had completed her education. When my father attended school in Mobile, many teachers in the parish schools had had at least one or two years at Littledale. Such teachers, poorly qualified by modern standards, were the best of their time. There were, however, many teachers with no qualifications whatsoever. My father tells of an instance in Tors Cove parish, which at the time included Mobile, where a girl of eleven or twelve was taken out of school and sent into a school to teach. By the time she was fifteen she had had three or four years' teaching experience. Most schools in smaller communities consisted of one room only, where all grades were taught by one teacher. The one-room school at Mobile was in use until 1954. I attended this school myself for ten years. Many teachers, even in the late 1930s, taught only to Grade Eight, probably because that was as far as they had gone in school.

A few families who could afford to do so sent their sons and daughters to school in St. John's. The girls went to Littledale and the boys attended St. Bonaventure's

College, which also provided boarding facilities. Such girls usually went on to teaching, nursing and business careers. The boys, however, were less successful. With very few exceptions they would come home after a year or two to spend the rest of their lives at the fishery. The efforts of their parents to educate them often proved the undoing of many young men, for they came home from "college" with no education to speak of, but with a "notion". They often felt that they were above the lowly labour of their brothers. They often became lazy good-for-nothings, and if they did condescend to work at the fishery, it went very much "against their grain". One old gentleman, who had spent a great deal of money on two worthless sons, remarked, "I only med cods out of 'em."

The standard of education was very low and the curriculum was quite limited. My mother used to study Newfoundland geography and "Irish history". The anti-British sentiment of the Irish was well preserved in all Southern Shore communities. It was very strong among people of my grandfather's generation, for the most part first-generation Newfoundlanders, who had heard too many tales of injustice and persecution from Irish-born parents ever to become loyal British subjects. Anti-British feeling is still strong in older people, but I have found it in only a very small minority of people under fifty. To get one elderly man's reaction, I remarked that his name sounded

English. He was quite vehement in his denial, "That's what it's not. My name is just as Irish as yours." However, those I have met who are partly of English ancestry are quick to admit the fact, and, I got the impression, quite proud.

The church has always held a very prominent place in Southern Shore life. All early priests were Irish-born, and they helped to keep the love for the old country alive. St. Patrick's Day was one of the greatest feasts of the year. Peter Hartwell, my father's grandfather, had a big shamrock which he treasured, and which he used to wear every "Patrick's Day". Older people remember Dean Roche at the altar during the St. Patrick's Day Mass "with the tears streaming down his face" as the choir sang "St. Patrick's Day".

The first priests ever to come to the Southern Shore area were probably the three Jesuits who came with Lord Baltimore in 1627, Fathers Smith, Hackett and Longville. However, as we have already seen, it was only after large numbers of Irish Catholics had entered the country that the Church got a permanent foothold in Newfoundland. Archbishop Howley mentions the early Irish priests who "were found from time to time to cross the Atlantic and by stealth afford the consolations of religion to their expatriated countrymen".¹ They were prepared "to say Mass under a flake

¹ Archbishop Howley, p. 185.

or in a cook-room", and, no doubt, at the Midnight Rock in Renew's. It was only after 1784 that the Catholic Church received official recognition from the authorities.

There is a belief that the early Irish residents on the Southern Shore spoke the native Gaelic or Irish tongue, at least in some areas. The belief is substantiated, to a degree, by a letter written by Dr. O'Donel, the first Prefect Vicar Apostolic of Newfoundland, to his Superior in Ireland. The letter is dated December 8, 1791, and it reads in part:

I wish to have another missionary. Be pleased, therefore, to send me one of my own Order for the districts of St. Mary's and Trepassey; it is absolutely necessary he should speak Irish, and it is indifferent to me what province he is of.¹

The Southern Shore, or the District of Ferryland, was one of the areas in which Dr. O'Donel commenced his labours.² In another letter he mentioned that the people of Ferryland had asked for leave to build a chapel. In 1787 Dr. O'Donel wrote to Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, to obtain the services of Father Yore in Newfoundland.³ Father Yore served at Ferryland from 1789 to 1806, and Father Brown, a native of Ross and a member of the Order of St. Augustine,

¹ Anonymous, "The First Bishop of Newfoundland", the Irish Ecclesiastical Record, II (1866), 512.

² Archbishop Howley, p. 188.

³ Ibid., p. 189.

served in Newfoundland from 1812 to 1840, principally at Ferryland.¹

In 1836 Father Murphy took charge of Ferryland parish. He built the church, the oldest stone church in the island outside St. John's. The cornerstone was laid in 1863 by Bishop Mullock, assisted by Father Vereker, who later became parish priest and spent forty years in the area. The Baltimore coat-of-arms can be seen today in the church at Ferryland. It was installed by Father Alfred Maher, who had it brought there from Maryland.

Throughout most of the nineteenth century all priests were Irish-born. Father A. Cleary was one of the priests who came to Newfoundland with Bishop Lambert in the early 1800s. He was an uncle of Dean Cleary, one of the pioneer priests of the Witless Bay area. "The Dean", as he was widely known, was born in 1796, in the parish of Bannon, County Wexford.² Bishop Fleming curtailed the district of St. John's, by separating from it the area around Bay Bulls and Witless Bay.³ The new district was given into the charge of Dean Cleary, who made Witless Bay his place of residence. The Dean died on October 21, 1882, in the fifty-third year of his priesthood, and is buried in the priests'

¹ Archbishop Howley, p. 242.

² Ibid., p. 267.

³ Ibid., p. 268.

plot at Witless Bay. During his years on the Southern Shore he built the churches at Witless Bay and Bay Bulls, both of which are over a hundred years old.

Dean Cleary was succeeded by Dean Roche, also a native of Ireland, who remained pastor of the parish until his death in 1916. He was assisted by Father Michael O'Driscoll, a native of Mobile. Father O'Driscoll was born in 1847 and he died at Witless Bay in 1899. Both priests resided at Witless Bay, but a church and "palace" were built at Mobile around 1886. Father O'Driscoll was to have lived there, since he ministered to the Mobile-Tors Cove section of the parish. His health was failing, however, and he never made the move.

Father O'Brien, a native of Bay Bulls, succeeded Father O'Driscoll as assistant priest in the area. He moved into the palace at Mobile around 1901, but he stayed only a few years. In the mid 1880s, a church had been built at Tors Cove. Father O'Brien built a house there and moved there to live. He remained in Tors Cove until Dean Roche died in 1916.

With the Dean's death, his assistant priest since 1901, Rev. Charles McCarthy, went to Tors Cove as parish priest. Father O'Brien became pastor of Witless Bay parish, which now, with the creation of the new Tors Cove-Mobile entity, consisted only of Witless Bay and Bay Bulls. However, Father O'Brien, who seems to have had a rather

pronounced migratory instinct, moved into the palace at Bay Bulls, which until that time had been vacant. The people of Witless Bay were up in arms over the move. They protested that their community had always been the centre of the parish, and they petitioned Archbishop E. P. Roche to give them a priest of their own. As a result, Rev. Dr. Greene was appointed parish priest of Witless Bay around 1921. In 1920 Father McCarthy was moved to Renews, where he remained until 1957. Monsignor McCarthy, as he later became, was the last Irish-born priest on the Southern Shore. Father J. J. Coady, a St. John's native, became pastor of the Tors Cove-Mobile parish in 1920. He remained there for thirty-nine years. In 1959 ill health and old age compelled him to retire.

When Bishop Fleming separated Witless Bay from the St. John's district, he also divided the Ferryland parish into two parts. There was now a resident priest at Fermeuse. This arrangement had continued to the time of Archbishop Howley's writing, "with the exception that the present energetic incumbent, Rev. John Walsh, has removed the residence to Rogneuse where he has erected an elegant church, convent, parochial house, and schools...."¹ Father Walsh, who came from Kilkenny, Ireland, was pastor at Renews for forty years. He died in November, 1912, and was

¹ Archbishop Howley, p. 268.

succeeded by Dean W. P. Doutney, from 1913 to 1919. Two priests who served in the parish as curates were Rev. P. Sheehan from Cork, who assisted Father Walsh, and Rev. J. M. Enright, also Irish, who was curate with Dean Doutney. Father Enright was later transferred to St. Joseph's, Salmonier, where he remained as pastor until the early 1960s. He was the last Irish-born priest in the St. Mary's Bay area.

In the 1800s the Southern Shore actually consisted of three separate entities. To an extent this is true even at the present time. The settlements from Bay Bulls to Tors Cove and LaManche constituted the parish of Witless Bay. The people of one community knew most of the people in the others. They intermarried and became more closely united by family ties. Only rarely did someone marry a person from outside the parish. There was some, but not much, communication with the Cape Broyle-Ferryland area. Cape Broyle was some ten miles away, and means of transportation and communication were poor. The settlements from Cape Broyle to Cappahayden, or Broad Cove, comprised the parish of Ferryland, a second and somewhat larger unit. To the extreme south, Trepassey was the centre of a parish which included also Portugal Cove, Cape Race and St. Shotts. A distance of over twenty miles separated this region from Cappahayden. In time, as we have seen, the parishes of Witless Bay and Ferryland were subdivided, the latter into

the parishes of Ferryland and Renew's. Only since the 1920s has there been a resident priest at Cape Broyle.¹

I have attempted to give a brief history of the Catholic Church on the Southern Shore, and to emphasize the great Irish influence. From even a brief account, it is evident that for generations the Church in Newfoundland was merely an extension of the Church in Ireland, with very little influence from other quarters. Many priests came from Ireland and many of those born in Newfoundland went there to study. After 1900, as more native priests were ordained, the Irish influence was somewhat diminished. Not only did the Irish clergy decrease in number, they also disappeared gradually as a type. From the many stories told in the Southern Shore area, one gathers that the "old priests", as they are usually referred to, often ruled with an iron hand, and were often as much feared as loved. It is generally conceded that people were "not as bad" in the old days as they are now, especially in matters of morality. This may well be true, but one cannot help but feel that the old morality was often one of fear, sometimes fear of the priest as much as fear of God.

¹ According to the Census of 1857, there was a clergyman at Witless Bay, Fermeuse and Trepassey. Ferryland had 2 clergymen, one of whom was probably Anglican. There were, at the time, 8 Roman Catholic and 3 Anglican churches in the Southern Shore area.

The Economy in Recent Times

It is only within fairly recent times, notably since the advent of the automobile, that people on the Southern Shore have become involved in the life of outside communities or parishes. Dances, balls, raffles, church-sponsored "garden parties" and other social functions were formerly attended largely by local people. With the building of the railway around 1910, the population became much more mobile, for people could travel for the first time in comfort at all seasons to and from St. John's, and between settlements. Many men found work during the construction of the railway, which extended all the way to Trepassey. When the construction work was completed, a few young men went to work with the railway company as members of train crews and as station-masters.

Over the years people had found part-time employment at various jobs once the fishing season was over. Men who shipped during the summer, and fishermen who did not do well at the fishery often went to work away from home. Some did labouring work in St. John's, some went to work in the coal mines at Sydney, Nova Scotia,¹ and others awaited the spring seal fishery, if they were lucky enough to get a berth in one of the sealing ships. My mother remembers when her

¹ The Census of 1884 gives the statistics for miners as follows: Bay Bulls 1, Witless Bay 2, Toads Cove (Tors Cove) 1, Burn Cove (Burnt Cove) 1.

father used to come home from Sydney in the spring. My father's father spent many springs "to the ice" hunting seals. Men went to the ice from all parts of the Shore; some were going as late as the latter part of the 1930s.

Men who could get along on their summer's earnings preferred to stay at home during the winter. Fishing, making hay and tending the gardens kept them busy from early June until late in the fall. By the time they were "straightened away" for the winter, the frost and snow had come and it was time "to go in the woods". When the wood close to the settlements had been cut, it became the custom for the men to go in over the ponds to cut firewood and any lumber they needed.

Almost everyone went in the woods, even young boys of seven and eight. Every family had a horse and slide and a hand-slide. There were good places to cut wood, just as there were good places to set cod-traps. I remember hearing men argue over the best places for cutting around Mobile Pond, "to the head o'the pon'", in "the sou'west arm" and so on. The woodsmen left home around eight or nine in the morning, perhaps earlier, taking with them a tin kettle and their "grub". When they grew hungry, around noon, someone would make a fire and "boil the kettle", using melted snow instead of fresh water. The grub was usually buttered bread and tea. One man was a bit of a laughing stock because he always brought some cake.

The men would cut and pile the wood and then load the slide. They usually arrived home about sunset, sometimes later. Before the wood could be loaded on the horse-slide, it had to be hauled to the larger slide on the hand-slide. The two slides were much alike, but the hand-slide was smaller and could be pushed or hauled by one man. When a lot of wood had piled up, one member of a group would make a trip home earlier in the day. Then he would go back for another load. Woods-work was as necessary as the fishery, for only those who were fairly well-off could afford to buy coal, and these were very few. Also, most homes had Waterloo stoves, manufactured for wood-burning. If coal were used the stoves would quickly wear out.

When the work in the woods was over for the winter, it was time to start mending nets and traps. During the long winter nights the new "twine was knitted". Women and girls often knitted as much twine as the men. There were always a few champion knitters, men or women who could knit "a round" in so many minutes. Men who had nothing to do at night often went to neighbouring houses to knit for awhile. The knitting was usually done in the family kitchen. Exchanging ghost stories was one of the favourite pastimes at knitting sessions. Around St. Patrick's Day or a little later the work on the "store-loft" began. Old twine and rope had to be cut from the traps and the new sewn in. Later the twine would be tarred, or barked, probably early in May.

Some communities had a large community barking kettle. In Cod Seine Cove, in Mobile, there is a grassy spot where such a kettle used to stand. People still refer to the area as "down be the barkin' kitttle".

With seasonal work to be done at home all the year round, few hard-working fishermen would have had time to take other jobs, if such had been available. A fisherman expected his sons to follow in his footsteps, even when he attempted to give them an education. In my grandmother's youth, most girls stayed at home and helped around the house until they married. A few went to St. John's and took up dressmaking. If a girl had "served her time", she was considered a first-class seamstress. In my mother's day, girls were expected to "go in service" and earn their own living. Most girls did domestic work in St. John's from about the age of fifteen. A few were lucky enough to work in stores. Girls worked until they were married, but many left St. John's for the higher wages they could get in New York or Boston. As late as the 1940s, girls were still going to the States to work.

Some men had always been going to sea. As a young man my grandfather Dillon fished on the Grank Banks and in the Cape Ballard area with a crew composed mostly of Mobile men. My father's uncles, the Hartwell brothers, were lost in a storm with their crew while on a fishing trip. They had built their boat only that spring. Before the railway

went through, all freight was carried in boats. The train, however, rendered the freight boats obsolete. Apart from fishing skiffs, boats carrying salt were the only ships to enter the smaller harbours, such as Mobile, after the construction of the railway. In the late 1920s and early 1930s motor vehicles became common, and the railway in turn was forced to close down its Trepassey branch.

Around 1920 and earlier it became the practice for young men, usually an unmarried son in a family, to go to the United States in the fall for "a winter". They fished on beam trawlers out of Boston and New York. If a berth were not readily available on a fishing boat, they often did iron-working. Most returned home for the trap fishery in the spring, but many chose to stay permanently in the States. My father went away to fish almost every winter during the 1920s. The practice died out during the 1930s, partly because of the fishermen's unions in the United States, which objected to these part-time fishermen.

From time to time in the past, some settlements had a local industry which afforded additional employment. Aquaforte had a whale factory early in the present century. The census of 1911 records that one whale was taken at Cape Broyle in 1910 which produced three tuns of oil, valued at \$270. Most settlements always produced some cod oil, as a by-product of the fishery. Cod oil was refined at Ferryland, Cape Broyle, Tors Cove, Witless Bay and Riverhead, Fermeuse,

during the 1910-1911 season.¹ Cape Broyle, Aquaforte and other settlements which had good harbours sold bait to banking vessels. The bankers were also a market for various fish products, such as salted salmon. Mrs. Mary O'Brien of Cape Broyle remembers that the salmon was sold for ten cents a pound.

Many communities had sawmills, and earnings were frequently augmented by cutting wood for lumber, or by cutting large trees for use as masts and spars, telegraph and telephone poles and wharf sticks. According to the Census of 1911, Mobile produced two masts that year, valued at \$1,496. Caplin Bay, or Calvert, produced two, valued at \$902.

In the early 1940s many men and women got work on the American bases, principally at Pepperrell, near St. John's, or with the Canadian Navy at Bay Bulls. After the depression and the dole days of the thirties, when a large percentage of the population was on relief, many families now had their first taste of prosperity. For the first time people who had spent many a winter "on the dole", could enjoy such luxuries as corn flakes for breakfast and tinned fruit for dessert. Before the war probably three or four homes in every settlement had a radio, and the men would gather in the evenings to hear the news. By the mid 1940s

¹ The Census of 1911.

every family had a radio.

From about 1930 to the present time, the Newfoundland Light and Power Company has provided a great deal of employment for Southern Shore residents. The first power plant was built at Witless Bay in the early 1930s to supplement the supply of electric power to St. John's. This project provided several years of steady employment for men fortunate enough to get jobs. In the early 1940s a plant was built at Tors Cove, and in 1949 another was started at Mobile. The last power plant built on the Shore was begun at Cape Broyle in the early 1950s. When the construction work was completed, many local people, usually the younger men, were permanently employed by the power company as caretakers or overseers. One family man in Mobile works for "the Light and Power" and from half a dozen to maybe a dozen in both Witless Bay and Tors Cove.

The importance of the fishing industry has greatly decreased within recent years, although every settlement still has a few trap crews. In 1967, for example, Ferryland had eight, Fermeuse had three and Mobile had one. Fish is no longer salted and dried, but is sold "green" or to fresh fish freezing plants at Witless Bay, Fermeuse and Trepassey. There is now a market for fish offal also, for example, in the fish-meal plant at Witless Bay. During the fishing season, men and women, and teen-age boys and girls, find employment in the fish plants. My Fermeuse

informant, a woman of sixty-six, worked shifts at the Fermeuse plant. One of my Cappahayden contacts and his two teen-age daughters worked there also. The girls hoped to earn enough money to buy clothes and books for the fall school term. The plant at Witless Bay employs people from Mobile, Tors Cove and Bay Bulls, as well as Witless Bay residents. In the spring a few fishermen catch salmon, which they sell locally or in St. John's. When the regular season is over the trap fishermen usually spend a few weeks hand-lining. A few fishermen hand-line all during the fishing season.

Many younger men have never worked at the fishery, and others have left it for more permanent employment. There is at least one man in every community who has always worked as section-man on the road. This job is becoming obsolete as more road continues to be paved. However, many men find temporary jobs during the paving process, driving trucks, spreading gravel, and so on. Once a year there is usually some work on local roads. Work is also available from time to time building and repairing wharves and breakwaters.

Many men from Southern Shore communities work away from home. Sometimes their families go with them, but usually the family stays at home. Most of these men work on the American base at Goose Bay or with the mining companies in Labrador. A few have worked for years on the C.N.R. coastal boats. It is also common for men who work at the

fishery, either in plants or catching the fish, to get winter work fishing on the Grand Banks. Probably the only people who are self-employed today are storekeepers, service station owners and taxi drivers. All settlements from Cape Broyle to Trepassey have a regular taxi service. Usually there are two or three taxis in each community which make the trip to and from St. John's daily. During the 1930s and 1940s there were several taxis operating between Tors Cove and St. John's. A bus service was brought in about 1945 and the taxis were gradually forced to discontinue their service. In the early 1960s bus service was introduced in the Cappahayden-Renews area. There is a regular run to St. John's. A bus also carries high school students in the area to the Central High School at Renews. In Mobile, one man is permanently employed, with a fixed government salary, to transport the students to school in Witless Bay, for the school at Mobile has been closed for about fourteen years.

Southern Shore residents are employed at other varied and miscellaneous jobs. Many work and board in St. John's, but others have become seasoned commuters. Many men and girls from the settlements between Bay Bulls and Cape Broyle drive to and from their work every day, especially during the spring, summer and early autumn months. They work at various kinds of work. Some are construction workers, policemen, penitentiary warders, clerks, teachers, nurses and nursing assistants, stenographers and telephone operators.

Today the Southern Shore is typical of all areas of the Avalon Peninsula within easy reach of St. John's. Workers who live in St. John's usually go home for week-ends. Women who wish to shop in St. John's go in on the morning or noon bus, and are back home again by eight in the evening. The most popular time for shopping is Friday night, when the St. John's stores stay open, and the husbands and fathers have come home from work. There are many families who buy their week's supply of groceries at the St. John's supermarkets. Life has changed very much indeed since the days when a man made a trip to St. John's in the fall to get his "winter's dite" (diet). My parents remember when men often walked to St. John's carrying suitcases in which they brought home their purchases. They left early in the morning and returned that night. My mother recalls that her father did this from time to time before the railway was built.

Though old-timers continue to recall the good old days with a touch of nostalgia, most people are glad that they are gone forever. One great change for the better is in education. An increasing number of boys and girls are staying in school, and graduating with at least a high school diploma. Every year more students are attending the university and the technical colleges. Today almost the whole Southern Shore area is provided with electricity, and residents have been able to discard the old kerosene lamps, which for many years had been used for lighting. The newer

homes are usually heated with oil, and many have oil furnaces. Modern household appliances, radio, television and automobiles are now considered necessities. The popular way to buy everything is "on time". The finance companies in St. John's do a good business with Southern Shore customers.

CHAPTER III

ANGLO-IRISH

Native Irish, a language still spoken in certain rural sections of Ireland, is a Celtic or Gaelic tongue, whereas English is a branch of the Teutonic or Germanic language group. English and Irish, therefore, have little in common. Both belong to the great family of Indo-European languages, but when we consider that such widely diversified languages as French, Greek, Russian and Sanskrit belong to the same family, we realize that the relationship is not necessarily a close one.

For centuries, the Irish spoke only their own Gaelic tongue. However, from the beginning of English settlement in Ireland, the Irish language and the English were in contact. It was this contact that gave rise to the dialect, or dialects, of English now designated by the term Anglo-Irish.

Anglo-Irish, applied to language, denotes the English language as it is spoken in Ireland. English was first brought to Ireland by the Normans, some time during the second half of the twelfth century.¹ It is unlikely,

¹ James M. Clark, The Vocabulary of Anglo-Irish, St. Gall, 1917, p. 3.

however, that these settlers spoke English to any great extent. Anglo-Saxons came later, when towns had been planted and manors organized. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, medieval English was spreading throughout Leinster, Meath and parts of Munster and Ulster, reaching even to the borders of Connaught, in the west.¹ This Middle English later declined in Ireland, almost to extinction, although it survived in the Fingall area, and in the baronies of Forth and Bargo, in South Wexford, until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.² In these rural areas, the archaic flavour of the language was preserved, although it was considerably influenced by Irish.

Modern English was brought to Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the settlement of the Plantations. The new settlers came from various parts of England, and the language they spoke probably approximated the Standard English of the time.³ As P. L. Henry says, "...it was the E[nglish] of the 17th century planters seasoned and moulded which chiefly entered with Irish into the blended language of today".⁴

¹ P. L. Henry, "A Linguistic Survey of Ireland", Lochlann, I (1958), Oslo, 59.

² Ibid., p. 59. See also Jacob Poole, A Glossary...of the English Colony in the Baronies of Forth and Bargo, County of Wexford, Ireland, ed. William Barnes, London, 1867.

³ Jeremiah J. Hogan, The English Language in Ireland, Dublin, 1927, p. 53.

⁴ Henry, p. 59.

The Irish continued to speak their own language, but over the years, as the English influence increased, they began to learn English also. English eventually replaced the native tongue as the language of the Irish majority, especially in the cities and towns.

Anglo-Irish, as spoken by the Irish peasantry and, to a lesser extent, as spoken by the more educated classes, naturally developed certain peculiarities which deviated from the standards of the language in England. When two languages come into contact, there occur what Uriel Weinreich calls "interference phenomena", which have an impact on the norms of the languages in contact.¹ The term "interference" implies "the rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language, such as the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of the vocabulary...."²

The native Irish language had its own peculiarities, and these account for the "foreign elements" of Anglo-Irish. When the native Irish began to speak English, the vast majority learned it imperfectly, never mastering the complicated verb forms, nor the many intricacies of idiom and word-order, to say nothing of standard pronunciation.

¹ Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact, New York, 1953, p. 1.

² Ibid., p. 1.

Often they fashioned their newly-learned language after the phonological and syntactic patterns of the native Gaelic, and it is this interference which gives the English spoken in Ireland its characteristic quality.

Aside from the Gaelic influence, however, other factors contributed to the development of Anglo-Irish. A language transplanted to a foreign soil does not develop in the same way as the language in the homeland. The English of Ireland did not keep pace with the language that grew and developed in England. Old forms which dropped out of Standard English were retained. Developments also took place in Anglo-Irish which did not occur in the English spoken elsewhere. The language in Ireland, therefore, is a result of the contact with the native Irish and of subsequent developments occurring independently of British English.

P. W. Joyce, writing in 1910, discusses at some length the various sources of Anglo-Irish.¹ He states that Anglo-Irish dialect words and phrases come from three main sources. These are the Irish language, early English and the dialect of Scotland, and dialect expressions which have grown up independently in Ireland.

According to Joyce, the Irish language has had a great influence on pronunciation, vocabulary and idiom. It

¹ P. W. Joyce, English as We Speak It in Ireland, Dublin, 1910, pp. 1-9.

has determined, for example, the popular pronunciation, in certain combinations, of the three English consonants, t, d, and th.¹ The pronunciation of t and d in Ireland can be traced to the fact that the Irish phonetic qualities are different from the English, and when the Irish began to speak English, they carried over the Irish sounds, especially before r. As examples of the Irish pronunciation of t and d, Joyce gives "butter" pronounced as "butther", and "ladder" pronounced as "laddher". Of the th sound, Joyce says that "the general run of the Irish people never sound it at all; for it is a very difficult sound to anyone excepting a born Englishman, and also excepting a small proportion of those born and reared on the east coast of Ireland".² A large majority of the Irish use the Irish t and d in such words as "bath" and "bathe".

Joyce mentions also the substitution of the English d and t for the sounds of th by the Irish, but he says that they have not been widely used for a couple of centuries. The English d held its place for a considerable time, and was considered a national characteristic, but by 1910, it was heard only as a defect of speech. The English t, as a substitute for the th sound, was never as widely used as the d, but it was still heard to some extent in Joyce's day.

¹ See also Hogan, pp. 71-73.

² Joyce, p. 2.

With regard to Newfoundland speech, the reference to the t and d sounds as substitutes for the th is interesting. A large majority of Newfoundlanders of Irish origin, including the people of the Southern Shore, use some variety of a dental or alveolar stop, maybe with aspiration, instead of an interdental fricative for the sounds of [θ] and [ð].

Another influence of the Irish language on the pronunciation of Anglo-Irish, according to Joyce, involves the sound of s. Many Irishmen use a variety of sh in English words where an English speaker has s.¹ This again is a carry-over from the native Irish. The sound is heard frequently among the more uneducated Irish populace. In imitation of this vulgar sound of s, Joyce notes that the sound of z often comes in for a similar change, although the z sound does not exist in the Irish language.

Of the Irish influence on the vocabulary of Anglo-Irish, Joyce says, "When our Irish forefathers began to adopt English, they brought with them from their native language many single Irish words and used them--as best suited to express what they meant-- among their newly acquired English words".² Such words remained in the English of their descendants. Joyce believed that the

¹ Joyce, p. 3.

² Ibid., pp. 3-4.

process of adoption was still going on in his time, and that Irish words were being adopted even into the English of highly educated people. He gives examples of words of Irish origin, such as "galore", "shamrock", "whisky", "blarney" and "smithereens", which have become accepted, even in the rest of the English-speaking world.

A great deal of the idiom of Anglo-Irish is borrowed from native Irish, and Joyce considers this by far the most interesting and important feature of the Gaelic influence. Most of the Anglo-Irish idiomatic phrases are simply translations from the Irish, what Weinreich specifies as "loan translations".¹ When such translations are literal, Englishmen often find it difficult or impossible to understand them. A phrase may be correct in Irish, but incorrect, or even unintelligible, when translated into English word for word.

The influence of early English and of Scotch is also quite substantial. Colonies of English and of Welsh-English people settled in Ireland, especially in the eastern area, after the Anglo-Norman invasion in the twelfth century.² In Elizabethan times, more settlers came in and spread throughout the country. These were nearly all English. They settled and intermarried with the natives. Many

¹ Weinreich, p. 51.

² Hogan, p. 15.

learned the Irish language, while the Irish learned English. This English was the sixteenth and seventeenth century speech of England, and even in modern times the old Gaelic people and the Irish of English descent still speak it. Joyce notes that the Irish are conservative in retaining forms of speech, for many words that have been discarded in England still flourish in Ireland. The educated regard them as vulgarisms, although, he says, they represent the classical English of Shakespeare's time. Some examples of this older English influence are words with the sound of Received Standard[ɪ:] pronounced as[e:], for instance, "tea" pronounced as "tay". Some survivals in vocabulary are words like "sliver", "lief" and "afeard". Joyce asserts that hardly any of the so-called vulgarisms used by the people in Ireland were invented by them, for they are nearly all survivals of usages which were once correct, either in English or in Irish.

In the north of Ireland the settlers came from Scotland and brought with them their own Scottish dialect. This dialect still survives among their descendants, but it is confined to Ulster, while the remnants of Elizabethan English have spread all over Ireland.

The dialect expressions which have gradually evolved in Ireland are merely examples of the independent development which takes place in a language as it is spoken in any specified area. North American English, for example,

now has many words, phrases and expressions which are not commonly known in other English-speaking regions of the world. It was natural that the English language in Ireland similarly developed its own stock of regionalisms.

Independent words, phrases, proverbs and so on which develop in any area are a result of the local environment and conditions. Geographical features, occupations, religious and folk beliefs of the people involved are all factors which contribute to the growth of localisms in an area.

When Irish settlers emigrated to other countries, they took with them their Anglo-Irish speech. In the United States and Canada they settled mostly in urban areas, and the peculiar flavour of their speech was by and large lost as their children and grandchildren grew up and attended school in a fluid society. This was not the case in Newfoundland, for in the areas where the Irish settled they usually formed a very large majority of the total population. The English they brought with them, therefore, what I call Anglo-Irish in this study, has been preserved for generations, with little interference from other types of language. It is only within the past two or three decades that this speech has begun to lose many of its older characteristics--as the population becomes more mobile, and the older, more conservative people pass away.

CHAPTER IV

GLOSSARY

Analysis of the Vocabulary

In selecting words for inclusion in the glossary, it has been quite difficult to determine exactly what words and expressions fit the description of Anglo-Irish already presented. Words and sayings from the Gaelic are comparatively easy to deal with. It is difficult, however, to isolate what is peculiarly Anglo-Irish from what is common to English dialects in general. Many words and phrases, found in Ireland, which come from an older, archaic form of English, probably exist also in some of the dialects heard in England; we cannot be sure that they were brought here from Ireland and not England.

The glossary contains well over two hundred entries. Numerous items, suspiciously like Anglo-Irish, have been omitted because no parallels could be found in Irish reference works. Only a few scholarly studies and reference works on the English language in Ireland so far exist, and it has been necessary to rely solely on the scanty materials available.

The problem is particularly difficult with regard to syntactic influences. In several instances, a long-standing English syntactic pattern has a parallel in Irish-

Gaelic, and the English usage is therefore intensified in the English spoken in Ireland. For this reason, phrases such as says he, a translation of the Irish air sé, have been included in the glossary, although admittedly the usage may not be exclusive to Anglo-Irish. Prepositional usages present a very great problem. The Southern Shore dialect contains scores of constructions with prepositions which seem to diverge from English practice, but usually only those which have an exact or approximate parallel in the consulted references have been included in the glossary. Some syntactic features are unquestionably from native Irish. Such patterns as I'm after sayin' and the use of what P. W. Joyce calls the consuetudinal tense, I do be, are clearly the result of Irish influence.¹

Although P. L. Henry's study of North Roscommon is confined to a section of a single Irish county, it is one of the few thorough, modern treatments of an Anglo-Irish dialect in existence.² This study has been freely used as a reference, especially since, as yet, scholars do not know a great deal about the distribution of the features of Anglo-Irish in Ireland. The people who settled on the Southern Shore by and large came from the south and southeast of

¹ Joyce, pp. 86-87.

² P. L. Henry, An Anglo-Irish Dialect of North Roscommon, Dublin, 1957.

Ireland, and it is surprising that so many similar items are found in the Roscommon study.

With regard to vocabulary, the Irish and Anglo-Irish words found in Southern Shore speech can be divided into several categories. Many words are connected with religion, and with Irish folk customs and beliefs. All expressions pertaining to God and the devil fall into this group, as do words like chapel and fairy squall. Joyce presents an interesting discussion of the Catholic "chapel" in Ireland, as opposed to the Protestant "church".¹ What he lists as a fairy breeze is known usually as a fairy squall on the Southern Shore.² The folk belief connected with this wind, however, is similar. The wind is caused by fairies and blows up on a day in summer. In Ireland the breeze is an indication that a band of fairies is passing by, an explanation not recorded on the Southern Shore. Joyce on the other hand does not mention that objects are carried away by the wind, a usual feature of a Southern Shore "squall".

As might be expected, there are many words brought here from Ireland connected with the household, and with farming, gardening, raising animals and other kinds of work. Words such as bawn and moryeen, and words which apply to animals, or which are names of or calls to animals, are

¹ Joyce, pp. 143-144.

² Ibid., p. 255.

numerous: bonnif, sook, collie and brackedy are examples. A large number of words relate to the obtaining of firewood, for instance, bresney, cronnicks, and starrigans. Some words in this category have a single fixed meaning. A bresney, for example, is always a small pile of firewood, consisting of boughs or sticks. Other words, such as starrigans, have a wide variety of denotations in various settlements: little sticks, dry wood, green wood. One can only draw the conclusion from the collected evidence that an undesirable type of firewood is designated by starrigans.

Words which involve personal relations are many, for example, bostoon, omadawn, stookawn, gommil, angishore, omalore and sleeveen. Most of these are somewhat vague in meaning, and it is very hard to get citations which reveal their precise sense. They are invariably used in such phrases as "He's a real stookawn", or "She's the proper gommil, she is". The first four listed generally mean a dull, foolish, simple or awkward person, whereas angishore and omalore always suggest that the person referred to is an object of pity. Sleeveen, however, has a very definite use, for it always denotes one who is a rogue or scoundrel.

It will be apparent that many words and phrases have undergone some slight changes in sense in Newfoundland. Bog and gad, for example, have acquired additional usages. Bog retains the original meaning of swamp or quagmire, but it also means the earth or soil found in the swamp. Gad denotes a

withe or twisted twig, but it means in addition a forked branch on which trout are strung. Many words have been adapted to local conditions and physical features, to the fishery or to other types of work. Moryeen is an example of a word which has undergone a definite change in meaning. In the original Irish, the word denotes "turf mould" or "mire", but on the Southern Shore it designates a kind of fertilizer, of which turf or bog is one of the principal constituents.

Some words are obviously outright borrowings, with hardly any change in meaning, for example, snig and slawms, connected respectively with milking and with carding wool. Words which are abstract nouns, for example, gatch, a strut or swagger, and words which are verbs, adjectives and adverbs, show a greater tendency to retain the original meaning.

Words connected with work that is no longer carried on have dropped out of use or are obsolescent. Few Southern Shore men now "break up bawn" in the spring or make moryeen during the fishing season, and nobody in the area cards wool or makes in into slawms, or loose carded rolls.

Old customs and beliefs are quickly disappearing. Ways of asking blessings, for example, are heard only from older people, although a few expressions of this kind survive among people of all ages, notably the phrases which might be labelled "verbal charms", used to ward off possible trouble or tragedy. Examples of these are God bless the mark, used when a deformity or handicap is referred to, and God between

us and all harm, uttered when possible tragedy is mentioned. The more ritualistic phrases used on entering houses, rising from the table, and so on, have all but disappeared.

Some Anglo-Irish words used in Southern Shore speech are in common use in modern English. Words like galore and smithereens are quite familiar; some of these have been included in the glossary, usually because they have developed additional usages. Several words and phrases have been entered even though they are unrecorded in any reference works which have come to my attention. Examples are hum, meaning a bad odour, and the expressions smadder me eyes and lick for smadder. Although these are not recorded, there are, however, indications which suggest that they originated in Ireland.

The people of the Southern Shore are indeed aware of the fact that there has been a great Irish influence in local speech, but usually they think only of pronunciation. Few realize that many commonly used words are of native Irish origin. The term "native Irish", or "Gaelic", in fact, would be only vaguely understood by many. Words like glawvawn and gawmoques, and most Irish words of two or more syllables are considered somewhat strange, but short words like scrob, glawm and gatch are taken for granted. Most people in the area would be quite surprised to learn that these words are not English. When informants talked about "Irish" words, they usually mentioned items universally

associated with Ireland, such as colleen, banshee, or blarney.¹

Further research on the Anglo-Irish element in general Newfoundland English would constitute a very interesting project for the future. A comparative study of the dialects of the predominantly Irish areas of the province should prove a worthwhile undertaking. Since people of Irish origin constitute a very large minority of the total population of Newfoundland, it would be especially interesting to determine the general influence of Anglo-Irish on the types of English brought from Devon, Dorset, Somerset and other sections of western England.

¹ See Mary S. Serjeantson, A History of Foreign Words in English, London, 1935, pp. 203-204.

Note on the Form of Entries

All entries in the glossary are listed alphabetically, with phrases listed under the key word. Ordinary spelling is employed for most words, but where no common form exists, spelling has been devised to suggest the pronunciation. Where doubt of pronunciation might arise, the word is followed by a phonetic transcription, according to the conventions of the International Phonetic Alphabet. To indicate primary stress in some words, the stressed vowel is underlined.

The form of each entry is as follows:

Key word; pronunciation, where needed; the phrase or saying in quotation marks, if the word has this special use; either a gloss or a brief discussion of how the word is used; authentic citations collected on the Southern Shore, with locations listed; in parentheses, plausible sources of the word in Irish or Anglo-Irish.

If a page number is supplied in the derivation, the reference is to Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla; An Irish-English Dictionary, compiled and edited by Rev. Patrick Dinneen, Dublin, 1927. Otherwise the abbreviations refer to these works:

Joyce	P. W. Joyce, <u>English as We Speak it in Ireland</u>
Rosc.	P. L. Henry, <u>An Anglo-Irish Dialect of North Roscommon</u>

Loch.	P. L. Henry, "A Linguistic Survey of Ireland" in <u>Lochlann</u>
Ua Broin	Liam Ua Broin, "A South-West Dublin Glossary"
Ó Conchubhair	Pádraig Ó Conchubhair, "An Offaly Glossary"
Ó h-Éaluighthe	Diarmuid Ó h-Éaluighthe, "Irish Words in Cork Speech"
O'Neill	Patrick O'Neill, "A North-County Dublin Glossary"
Clark	James M. Clark, <u>The Vocabulary of Anglo-Irish</u>

When many sayings contain the same key word, they are presented together, for example under devil, and alphabetized according to the first word. In some phrases underlining indicates that a word is stressed in the local pronunciation. Cross references are occasionally inserted where convenient. Dinneen's alphabetic characters have been transliterated into the approximate English equivalents.

The following abbreviations are used in the glossary:

adj	adjective
adv	adverb
al.	also
conj	conjunction
cf.	compare
dims.	diminutives
<u>EDD</u>	J. Wright's <u>English Dialect Dictionary</u>
esp.	especially
exclam	exclamation
fig.	figuratively
gnly.	generally
inten	intensifier
n	noun

obs.	obsolete
pl.	plural
prep	preposition
prn	pronoun
prob.	probably
pron.	pronounced
v	verb
vm	verb modifier

Vocabulary

- after, "to be after ---ing", suggesting a previously completed action.
 "Everything you're after sayin' there, I'm after hearin' it."
 "He fixed it up with the lawyer I was after seein'."
 "I haven't got it, girl, I'm after burnin' it."
 General. (Joyce, 84-85).
- again, conj by the time that.
 "I'll be after thinkin' up something else, again you comes again."
 "Again that one is ready, the dance'll be over."
 General. (Rosc., 211).
- against, prep "come against", affect one adversely.
 "Girl, don't worry about it; that might never come against you."
 "It was in his hip two year before it come against 'im."
 General. (Joyce, 31).
- all, "Thank you all the same."
 "I don't want anything to eat now, thank you all the same."
 "I wouldn't want to drink anything now, thank you all the same."
 General. (Joyce, 188).
- among, "Make one among us", an invitation to eat, extended to one who enters a house at meal-time.
 "Just in time, now make one among us."
 Fermeuse, Witless Bay; known. (Cf. Ua Broin, 177, Sit here and make one amongst us).
- and, conj often "an' he ---ing", a connective, joining a main clause with a following modifying phrase.
 "He come in Sunday morning an' ye goin' to Mass."
 "They had a brother, Paddy, but he died an' he young."
 General. (Joyce, 33-34; see also Rosc., 206).
- angish [æŋɪʃ] adj pale and sick, not looking well.
 "You looks a kind of angish today. What's the matter with you?"
 "He's an angish lookin' poor little thing."
 General. (aindeis, 18, ... wretched, miserable).

angishore, n person who is wretched or sick, one who arouses pity or sympathy.

"You poor little angishore, are you frost-burned with the cold?"

Generally known. (aindeiseoir, 18, an unfortunate person or thing, a wretch).

at, prep "be at", pester, tease, talk about, say, try to correct.

"Every time he'd come to the house they'd be at 'im."

"The girls used to always be at me about it."

"I hears Nanny at that up there." i.e. saying that.

General. (Cf. Rosc., 155, troubling, pestering, assailing).

bail, "I'll go bail", "I go bail you", I'll guarantee you, I'll warrant you.

"That's the last I'll see o' that, I'll go bail."

Generally known, prob. obs. (Joyce, 9-10).

banger, n an overcoat.

"Put on your banger."

Cappahayden, obs. (Cf. Joyce, 213, bang-up, a frieze overcoat with high collar and long cape).

bawn, n land not under cultivation, ground to be broken up for cultivation, a bare place, a barren place that cannot be cultivated, a fenced place for cattle.

"We have to break up some bawn tomorrow."

"When cattle are dry, they're out on the bawn in the spring o' the year."

General. (badhun, 69, an enclosure, a bawn; see also Joyce, 214).

be, v "do be", "does be", "bees"; be in continuous activity or state over an indefinite period of time.

"I do be so hungry I don't know what I'm at."

"I don't know whether he's moody or whether he does be vexed with me."

"What are them little things the buds bees on."

General. (Joyce, 86-87).

before, prep "put it before you", make a point of giving it your attention.

"If you had to put that before you then, you'd have it done long 'go."

"This year, I put it before me and I got it done."

Witless Bay, Renew. (Cf. Joyce, 39).

- begob**, exclam sometimes "begar", "begor"; used to introduce a statement.
 "I said, 'Begar! that's a hard thing to find on the Southern Shore'."
 "Begob! he come into the house then, an' we had a spell talkin'."
 General. (Joyce, 70).
- bibe**, n an audible omen of death, usually described as some kind of bird that cries or whistles.
 Renew, Cape Broyle, Bauline, Bay Bulls. (badhbh, 68, a royston-crow; a vulture, or other ravenous bird; a battle goddess; a scold, a curser; a female fairy or phantom said to be attached to certain families, appearing as scald-crow or royston-crow; see also Joyce, 177).
- blast**, n a fairy stroke; an illness, physical or mental, caused by fairies.
 "That poor thing got a blast there last year in the woods -- struck with a squall."
 "I think she got a blast; needles used to come out of her arm."
 Generally known. (Joyce, 216; see also Ó Conchubhair, 188, a fairy wind).
- bog**, n a swamp, soft wet earth of a swamp.
 "There was a big bog right behind our house."
 "They'd haul the bog in the spring o' the year."
 General. (bogach, 105, a swamp, quagmire, bog, moor).
- bog**, v sink in a bog, or in clay, gravel, etc.; weigh down with work.
 "Tis easy to get bogged in places."
 "We had a cow got bogged years ago."
 General. (from n bog).
- boggy**, adj of the nature of bog, like a swamp.
 "There's lots o' berries around there, but 'tis a boggy sort of a place."
 General. (from n bog).
- bonnif**, n a young pig.
 General. (bainbhín, 71, a little pig, a young pig; also banbh, 76-77, a young pig; a suckling pig; a pig in general).
- bostoon**, n a clumsy or stupid person.
 "A bostoon", that was a word they had a spell ago."
 Fermeuse, prob. obs. (bastún, 84, ... a poltroon; a bounder; a blockhead).

brackedy, adj spotted, speckled; of hens, but sometimes of sheep, cows and horses.

"He had an old brackedy horse, the colour o' ..."

"She had brackedy legs an' a brackedy face."

(of a sheep).

General. (Cf. breac, 118, speckled, spotted; ... bó bhreac, a speckled cow).

bracket, adj spotted; speckled; covered with pecks of brown, green, etc.; used only of a rock large enough to be a landmark.

"The train was comin' around the bracket rocks."

"There's a rock here called the bracket rock, right on the rise before you go down to that garage."

General. (Cf. breac, 118, speckled, spotted).

bresney ['brɛsni], n a small pile of firewood; boughs and little sticks; a bundle of "blasty" boughs. This is carried in the arms, or under an arm.

"I have to go in now for a bresney", they used to say."

Generally known. (brosna, 128-129, a faggot, an armful of wood; broken wood for firing).

cant, n a saying or expression, originating locally, which is popular for a time.

"That's what's tight' -- they had that for a cant for a couple o' years after."

General. (Cf. Ua Broin, 166).

care, n "How's all your care?", i.e. your family, people under your care.
Generally known. (cúram, 297, care, thought, charge, provision, ... a family; see also Joyce, 32, a translation of the common Irish inquiry, Cionnos tá do chúram go léir?)

caulcannon n vegetables made into a hash.

"Caulcannon, 'tis med out o' turnips an' potatoes an' cabbage."

General. (cál ceannfhionn, 154, cabbage, etc., dressed up with butter, etc.)

chainies, n pieces of broken dishes, broken glass, etc., used by children at play.

"They'd fix up a lot o' chainies, you know, broken cups and saucers."

"We'd be pickin' up chainies for the 'babby house'."

Generally known. (Ó Conchubhair, 189, broken delph, used by children to play with).

EDD records this in English dialects, but not with this precise meaning.

- chapel, n the parish church, or any of the Catholic churches in a parish.
 "I was up on the graveyard an' up to the chapel."
 "I made a run over to the chapel."
 General. (Joyce, 143-144).
- chook [tʃʊk], n usually "chookie", a hen; call to hens.
 "Here chook, chook, chook, chook, here chookie, chook, chook, chook."
 General. (tiuc, 1215, an exclam., chuck! repeated in calling hens; al. name for a hen; see also Joyce, 234).
- Christian, n person, human being.
 "Some animals, girl, are as cute as a Christian."
 "He was workin' up there for three or four years, an' he didn't know a Christian."
 General. (O Conchubhair, 189, a human being; see also Joyce, 234).
- collie, n a cow, a call to a cow.
 "Come collie, come collie, come collie."
 "Go out in the meda [meadow] an' drive home the collie."
 Cappahayden, prob. obs. (Cf. colan, 232, a young cow, a calf; a yearling).
- comb, v "He'll never comb many gray hairs", used of someone who does not look well.
 Trepassey. (Cf. Joyce, 202).
- cow, n "Tis not every day that Maurice kills a cow", used when an unusual event occurs, or when a special opportunity presents itself.
 Witless Bay, Bauline, Aquaforte, (Cf. Joyce, 169, It is not every day that Manus kills a bullock).
- crawthumper, n a person who makes a great display of piety.
 "Crawthumpers, you know, thumpin' their craws; they used to go to Mass."
 Calvert. (Joyce, 241, a person ostentatiously devotional).
EDD records this in English dialects also.
- crit, n any sort of bad or unusual posture; a stoop, a hump; of people or animals.
 "He came in here today and he was down in a queer old crit."
 "Haven't he got a shockin' crit on 'im?"
 General. (cruit, 276, a hump on the back).

- crit, v stoop over so as not to be observed, stoop or slump in order to appear shorter.
 "There's girls here and they're tryin' to crit down."
 Calvert. (from n crit).
- croonnicks, n small pieces of wood suitable for kindling.
 "You wouldn't cut croonnicks, you'd just haul 'em up out o' the ground."
 "Croonnicks is old stuff bent down on the ground; on the small side, no growth in 'em."
 General. (Cf. crannóg, 258, a piece of wood).
- cruel, inten & adj very, awfully; awful.
 "Boy, 'tis a cruel stormy day, isn't it?"
 "You gave me a cruel fright when you knocked to the door."
 Mobile, Witless Bay. (Cf. Joyce, 89).
- dead, n "Let the dead rest", used when someone else speaks critically of a dead person.
 General. (Joyce, 200).
- devil, n "as the devil", "as the old devil", to emphasize a characteristic, e.g., deafness, stupidity, contrariness, great age.
 "You can make yourself as old as the divil."
 "He's as saucy as the old divil himself."
 "I'm after gettin' as crooked as the old divil, girl."
 General. (Joyce, 57, Sometimes the devil is taken as the type of excellence or of great proficiency in anything, or of great excess).
- devil, n "like the devil hates holy water", a comparison for "hates --- like".
 "That one hates me like the divil hates holy water."
 General. (Joyce, 61, Jack hates that man and all belonging to him 'as the devil hates holy water').
- devil, n "Never bid the divil good-morrow till you meet him", don't worry about troubles that might never come.
 Ferryland, Cape Broyle, Calvert, Trepassey. (Cf. Joyce, 62, Time enough to bid the devil good-morrow when you meet him).
- devil, n "The bigger the divil, the better the luck", the wicked prosper.
 Cappahayden. (Cf. Joyce, 63, The devil's children have the devil's luck; or the devil is good to his own; meaning bad men often prosper).

- devil, n "the devil and all", to imply that one talks a great deal about doing something, but never gets it done.
 "Oh, he was goin' to do the divil an' all with the house."
 "Yes, you'll do the divil an' all now, you will."
 Ferryland, Witless Bay. (Joyce, 58, Oh yes you'll do the devil an' all while Jack is away; but wait till he comes to the fore).
- devil, n "the devil to", to emphasize ability, proficiency, or any desirable or undesirable quality.
 "I'm the divil to play, child, but I'm not in the mood now."
 "He was the divil to drink."
 General. (Cf. Joyce, 58).
- devil, n "Tis better to go with the divil you know, than the divil you don't know", you never really know strangers or outsiders.
 Witless Bay, Aquaforte. (Cf. Joyce, 107, Better is the devil you know than the devil you don't know).
- devil's, n "devil's darning needle", sometimes "devil's needle"; the dragon fly.
 "One day an' I goin' in that lane there behind the graveyard, this big divil's darnin' needle come at me."
 "We used always call 'em divil's needles." (Calvert).
 General. (Cf. snáthad an diabhair, 1075, the dragon fly; snáthad, a needle; see also Joyce, 246).
- devil's, n "The devil's cure to you", it serves you right, good enough for you.
 "The divil's cure to 'em. They should be put in jail."
 Aquaforte, Mobile, Witless Bay. (Joyce, 56-57).
- devil's, n "the devil's own", a modifier used for emphasis to indicate degree or intensity.
 "I goes down an' haves the divil's own time."
 "He gave me the divil's own start."
 General. (Joyce, 58).
- dint, n "the pure dint of", the habit of, the result of.
 "That fella never did a day's work in his life; 'tis the pure dint o' laziness."
 Mobile, rare. (Cf. Clark, 35, In standard English dint is now obsolete except in the phrase "by dint of". The original meaning is "violence", "strength" -- 16th and 17th century --).

down, prep also up, over, in, out; used without an object to indicate direction.

"I believe old Tom Brophy down uses it, 'the rack'."

"Is it cold up?"

"I see a salmon yesterday in the river over."

General. (Cf. Loch., 169).

? dream, n "Tis like a dream to me", used when something is only vaguely remembered, as a dream might be recalled.
 "Girl, 'tis like a dream to me, I heard that somewhere; all the same, I'm not sure of it."
 "I don't believe I ever heard tell o' that; still an' all, 'tis like a dream to me I did."
 General. (Rosc., 203).

dudeen, n a tobacco pipe.

"A spell ago, a pipe was a dudeen."

✓ Calvert, known. (duidín, 378, a short tobacco-pipe).

ears, n "can't hear your ears", the noise or talking is very loud.

"There's not a word out of her now; up to the house, you can't hear your ears with her."

"Will ye shut up? I can't hear me ears with the racket o' ye."

General. (Joyce, 201).

eyes, n "I'd give my eyes".

"Girl, I'd give me two eyes for music."

Aquaforte. (Cf. Joyce, 121).

fairy squall, n a strong gust of wind which blows up suddenly on a calm day, usually in August; hay, clothing, objects, even small children, might be carried away.

"A fairy squall blows up kind o' sudden, but there's no lasting to it."

General. (Cf. sidhe gaoithe, 1027, a sudden blast of wind, a whirlwind; see also Clark, 31, fairy wind).

fear, v "Never fear", that's only what's to be expected of you; used with sarcasm.

"The teacher slapped me again, today."

"Oh, never fear."

Mobile. (Cf. na bi heagal ort, Joyce, 14, common Irish phrase).

fear, n "Tis fear for you", you have good reason to be afraid.
 "Me mother bought me them boots yesterday; now they're leaky. I'm afraid to go home."
 "Tis fear for you."
 Mobile. (is eagal duitse, Joyce, 11, Tis fear for you, meaning 'you have good reason to be afeard').

fetch, n the "double" of a living person, usually considered an omen of the person's approaching death; usually referred to, now, when giving emphasis to an assertion.
 "If I didn't meet you on the road last night, 'twas your fetch."
 General. (Joyce, 256).

fingers, n "as often as I have fingers and toes", quite often.
 "Child, I'm after hearin' that as often as I have fingers and toes."
 Aquaforte, (Cf. Joyce, 140).

fishogues [fɪʃ'ɔ:gz] in Mobile, Cape Broyle, Ferryland, Renews, Portugal Cove; fisharogues [fɪʃ'ɛrɔ:gz] in Fermeuse; pisharogues [pɪʃ'ɛrɔ:gz] in Bauline and Calvert.
 n superstitions about ghosts, fairies, etc.; matters a person complains about; generally plural.
 "Them are only some o' your old fishogues." (Cf. piseog, 843, witchcraft, sorcery; a charm, a spell; ... piseoga, pl., superstitious acts, witchcraft).

for, prep used to refer to a fault or shortcoming.
 "That's the smallest thing ever I see for a woman."
 "Them tulips, they're no good for flowers."
 "The last one we had, she was no good for a cow."
 General. (mar, Joyce, 29, for, to express some sort of mild depreciation).

for, prep used with a personal pronoun to emphasize some intentional injury to the person addressed or spoken of.
 "I'll tan your hide for you when I gets you home."
 "If I sees you around here again, I'll crack your neck for you."
 General. (ag, Joyce, 28-29, for, to carry an idea of some sort of injury to the person represented by the noun or pronoun).

gad, n a thin, flexible withe used for tying fences; a switch for punishing children, following cattle, etc.; a forked branch on which trout are strung; a piece of wire attached to a cold-chisel by which the tool is held.

"Fences were always tied with gads, a spell ago.

There was no such thing as a nail, them times."

"Take a good strong gad and give him a couple o' cuts of it."

General. (gad, 506, a withe, a twisted twig or osier; a tie or cord).

gaffer, n child, used especially of a boy.
"When she come here first, I was only a little gaffer."

"I had to mend five pair o' boots today for the gaffers."

General. (Joyce, 259).

galore(s), n & adj plenty; enough, and some to spare.
"The berries were there in galore."

"There'd be squid squalls there in galores."

"Stay now, we have galores cooked."

"There'll be money galore in the fall."

General. (go leor, 659, enough, in plenty).

gatch, n a swagger, a strut, a vain or pompous manner of walking.

"You'll cut a cruel gatch when you gets that on you."

"The gatch o' that one makes me sick."

General. (gáitse, 512, a bout, a turn, a foolish trick, a showy gesture, a swagger).

gatch, v strut; swagger; walk in a foolish vain manner.
"All she does is gatchin' around, showin' herself off."

"She'd gatch around all day, and never do a hand's turn."

General. (from n gatch).

gatcher, n one who struts or swaggers, one who walks in a vain or pompous manner, a dude.

"Look at that fella now; he's the proper gatcher, he is."

"A man died only a few years ago; he always went be 'the gatcher'." i.e., he 'was called'.

General. (from v gatch).

gawmogue, n a silly person.

"She's a real gawmogue, she is; she haven't got the sense she was born with."

Calvert. (gamóg, 515, a clown, a simpleton).

gawmogues, n foolish actions, antics, playful ways of a child.

"The gawmogues o' him now'd set you cracked."

"Boy, look at the gawmogues of her."

"Your 'gawmogues'; that's a foolish way o' gettin' on."

General. (Cf. gamóg, 515, a clown, a simpleton).

ginny ['dʒɪni], n a sissy, a boy who plays with girls or with things more appropriate for girls.

"Oh, you're the real ginny; they should put a dress on you."

General. (Cf. gean, 526, a daughter, a woman).

glawm, n a grab, a snatch.

"He made a glawm at me when I passed him."

General. (glám, 541, grasp, a clutch, a snatch).

glawm, v grab, snatch up, gather up, maul, dirty by handling.

"They're always there to glawm up anything they can get their hands on."

"I wouldn't want that anyhow; there was too many glawmin' it."

General. (glámaim, 541, I pull about, maul).

glawvawn, n one who is always complaining, a constant complaining.

"That's all that one is, a glawvawn."

"Tis the one glawvawn with him all the time."

Mobile, Cape Broyle, Renews. (Cf. glámhán, 541, a murmuring, complaining).

glawvawn, v complain about trifles, bemoan.

"I broke one of her plates and she glawvawned about it the rest of the day."

"He's always glawvawnin' about something. There's hardly a day but he have a different complaint."

General. (Cf. glámhan, 541, a murmuring, complaining).

glawvawner, n one who is always complaining.

"He's the real old glawvawner."

Cape Broyle, (from v glawvawn).

- gob, n the mouth.
 "You're always stuffin' something into your gob."
 "Shut your gob."
 General. (gob, 557, a pointed or beak-like mouth;
 a bill or beak, a fish's mouth, a snout).
- gob, v take a hook out of a fish's gullet with a gob-
 stick.
 "... then the hook comes out; that's gobbin' 'em."
 Mobile. (from n gob-stick).
- gob-stick, n a stick used for taking a hook from a fish's
 gullet; the hook becomes embedded in a small V-shaped
 notch at the end of the stick.
 Mobile, Calbert. (from n gob).
- God, n "God be good to him (her, them)", used when the name
 of a dead person is mentioned, or when speaking of
 the dead in general.
 "So me mother, God be good to 'er, came out."
 "They're all dead and gone now, God be good to 'em."
 Mobile, Ferryland, Fermeuse, Portugal Cove. (Cf.
 Joyce, 195; see also Rosc., 180).
- God, n "God between us and all harm", used when some
 possible catastrophe is referred to; a verbal charm to
 ward off danger.
 "If anything happened to Jim, now, God between us and
 all harm, we'd be in some fix."
 General. (Cf. Joyce, 195).
- God, n "God bless the bread", when bread is taken from the
 oven, or when a piece of bread is dropped accidentally.
 Calvert, Witless Bay.
- God, n "God bless the mark", when any physical handicap,
 deformity, or blemish is referred to.
 "He had only one eye, God bless the mark, poor man."
 "He was crippled, God bless the mark."
 General. (Cf. Joyce, 195).
- God, n "God bless the wisher", used when someone wishes for
 something.
 Bauline, known.
- God, n "God bless your work"; in Bauline, "God bless the
 worker and the work"; when you come upon someone making
 butter, milking a cow, doing other work.
 Generally known. (Go m-beannuighe Dia air bhur
 n-obair, Joyce, 16, God bless your work).

- God, n "God grant us the light o' Heaven", when a lamp is lit or a light turned on in the evening.
Ferryland, known. (Cf. O Conchubhair, 190, The light of heaven to him -- her --, said when someone dies).
- God, n "God help us", used when speaking of trouble, misfortune, etc.
"The most of us here had a hard life of it them times, God help us."
"That poor Christian is there now with only one lung, God help him."
General. (Cf. go bh-fóireadh Dia orruinn, Joyce, 195).
- God, n "God increase your store", said by a visitor as he rises from the table in a house where he has eaten. Generally known, used in Ferryland and Portugal Cove. (Go meádaighe Dia dhuit, Joyce, 37, God increase your store).
- God, n "God rest his soul", used when the name of a dead person is mentioned, or when speaking of the dead in general.
"My son, God rest his soul, used to always say that."
"The old crowd are gone now, God rest all their souls."
General. (Joyce, 89; see also Rosc., 180).
- God, n "God save all here", said by a person entering a house.
Generally known, used in Bauline. (Joyce, 15, God save all here).
- God, n "God save you kindly", said by some person in a house as a response to a visitor's "God save all here". Generally known. (Joyce, 15).
- God, n "the curse of God", a comparison used with old.
"She got a fleet o' hens, but they're as old as the curse o' God."
Ferryland. (Cf. mallacht Dé ort!, Rosc., 180, The curse o' God on you!; see also 129).
- God, n "with the help of God", used when speaking of something to be completed in the future.
"But you'll get it done, girl, with the help o' God."
"With the help o' God now, you'll get home all right."
General. (Joyce, 196).

- God's, n "God's blessin' be here", said by a person entering a house.
Calvert, known. (Cf. "God save all here", above).
- goder ['goder], v gathered.
"Jack goder up whatever money he could get."
"We went around and goder up the big piles o' wood, after the fire."
Mobile, Cape Broyle. (Cf. Joyce, 78; see also O'Neill, 271).
- gommil, n a simple or foolish person.
"That poor gommil, sure he don't know what you're talkin' about."
Generally known. (gamal, 515, a stupid looking fellow).
- good, n "Much good may it do you", sometimes "Much g' do you", said by one entering a house when the family are eating a meal.
Witless Bay, Bauline, Trepassey; known. (Ua Broin, 177, Much good may it do you, said by a person coming in where a meal is in progress).
- good, n "There's a lot o' good not in her."
Aquaforte, (Cf. Joyce, 20, There's a great deal of sense outside your head).
- googy-eggs ['gu:gi], n small, white berries shaped like eggs (Witless Bay); hens' eggs (Calvert).
Prob. obs. (Cf. gog, 558, ... childish name for an egg; see also Ó h-Éaluighthe, 42).
- gossoon, n a young boy.
"You poor little gossoon, come in out o' the cold."
Bauline, Renewes; obs. (garsún, 521, a young boy, a youth).
- gowreens, n variety of owl or snipe whose cry is a sign of bad weather, coming of night, etc.
"The gowreens are out; we're goin' to have weather', they used to say."
"You'll hear the howl o' the gowreens all night long."
Bauline, Ferryland; known. (Cf. gabhairín, 504, a small or young goat; see also Joyce, 266).
- gumbeens, n small pieces of tobacco used as stakes in playing cards; tobacco chewed for a time, then saved and dried for smoking in a pipe.
General. (gaimbín, 509, a morsel, a junk; ... gaimbín tobac, a morsel of tobacco).

- had, v knew, used of languages, songs, etc.
 "I often heard them songs but I never had 'em. The old people had 'em are all dead."
 "Someone there had cheek music."
 "There was no end to what songs he had."
 Bauline, Cape Broyle, Cappahayden. (Cf. Joyce, 47).
- hard-growing, adj slow in growing, small for one's age; said of children.
 "Hard-growin' -- they don't grow up fast; they'd be a long time the one size."
 Mobile, Bauline. (Cf. Ua Broin, 173, unthriving, growing weakly. A hard-growing child).
- harm, n "by the way o' no harm", said by a person who plans to do something or to go somewhere for a motive other than the apparent one.
 "I'm to a loss to know who's down to Lou's. I'll make a run down by'm by, by the way o' no harm."
 Mobile. (Cf. Joyce, 38).
- harm, n "Twould be no harm", it would be just as well, it would be a good thing.
 "I must go wash me hands."
 "Yes, 'twould be no harm."
 "Twould be no harm for you to go in to see Billy."
 Mobile, Cape Broyle. (Joyce, 16).
- have, have --- to (get).
 "I have shoes to get in town."
 Mobile. (Cf. Joyce, 45).
- ? head, adj "the head"; in place of best, nice, good, finest, strangest, etc.
 "Oh, 'tis the head place for the winter; ye'll be in out o' the cold."
 "You have the head colour hair ever I see on anyone."
 "Well, I saw the head thing yesterday."
 General. (Cf. Joyce, 32, A number of idiomatic expressions cluster round the word head, all of which are transplanted from Irish in the use of the Irish word ceann [cann] head).
- help, n "no great help", "any great help".
 "Anyone as deaf as what he is 'd be no great help to you."
 "I'm glad you come; not now that I'm any great help to you."
 General. (Joyce, 17).

himself, etc., prn used with prepositions.

"A gatcher is a fella puts on a big show, full of himself."

"That fella is a fool to himself; he'll take a drink and he don't know when to stop."

"He was right out of himself this morning."

i.e. acting in an unusual way, different.

"They're after gettin' so big in themselves now, since their father got that job, they'll hardly speak to you."

"Have a good drink for yourself now, while you're at it."

General. (Cf. Joyce, 33; 132).

hum, n a bad odour.

"There's an awful hum comin' from somewhere."

General. (W. Kirwin reported identical usage in Dublin and Waterford, 1967).

in, prep "in it", in existence.

"There's more of a chill in it this evening."

"Have a good time for yourself now, while the time is in it."

General. (Cf. ann, Joyce, 25, in it, in existence; see also Rosc., 146).

in, prep "in it with", usually after a negative; not equal to, cannot compete with.

"Boy, you're not in it at all now with Mike, since he got that big car."

"I won't be in it at all with you, when you gets that fur coat on you."

Mobile, Witless Bay. (Cf. Joyce, 143).

itself, even, only.

"You didn't meet Molly on the way in, did you? Sure, if you did, i'self, I suppose you wouldn't know 'er."

"They're less alike in their ways, than they are in their looks, i'self."

"If I had to get handy him, i'self, I'd have two cracks at 'im."

General. (féin, Joyce, 36-37, even, itself).

johnny magoreys[me'goriz], n fruit or hips of the wild rose; part of the flower left when petals fall off, gathered by children and strung as beads. Cape Broyle, Calvert; known. (Cf. Joyce, 278; see also O'Neill, 274).

- joke, n "no joke", a very serious matter.
 "Twould do you good to go in there, there's no joke about that."
 "Tis no joke to be to sea when it comes to blow."
 Mobile, Cappahayden, Portugal Cove. (Joyce, 18, very serious).
- joog [dʒu:g], n a drop, a spark of life, power in a battery; always preceded by a negative.
 "When he put the bottle back on the table, there wasn't a joog in it."
 "I hit him and drove him over the fence; I didn't leave a joog in him."
 General. (diúg, 344, a drop, a drain).
- joog, v drink or drain to the last drop.
 "He jooged the bottle right to the last drop."
 Mobile. (diúgaim, 344, I drink off, drain out, drink freely).
- kippin, n a small, hard, dry stick; a small piece of wood; a worthless object.
 "I haven't got a kippin to give you."
 Bay Bulls, Cape Broyle, Renew. (cipín, 195, a little stick).
- know, v "I d' know", i.e. "I don't know", used usually at the end of a question.
 "Is the mail come yet, I d' know?"
 "Are we goin' to have rain, I d' know?"
 Mobile, prob. obs. (Cf. Joyce, 135-136).
- knowing, "there's no knowing", no one knows.
 "There's no knowin' how cute they are, you know."
 "There'll be no knowin' where to start at that."
 Mobile, Cappahayden, Portugal Cove. (Cf. Joyce, 52).
- ? kybosh, n "put the kybosh on it", have the effect of bringing something to an end in an unpleasant way.
 "Twas goin' great till he come here. That put the kybosh on it."
 "He put the kybosh on it, for sure."
 General. (Cf. caidhp báis, O h-Ealuighthe, 43, the death-cap).
- kybosh, v have the effect of bringing something to an end, affect adversely.
 "I'll kybosh that now."
 Cape Broyle. (from n kybosh).

lawnya vawnya, n a good time at a dance or party, plenty to eat, etc.

"We had lawnya vawnya last night."

Calvert. (Cf. lán an mhála, 629, the full of the bag, fig., quite enough; see also Joyce, 283, launavaula, full and plenty).

long finger, "put it on the long finger", delay it, put off doing it.

"Whenever she's goin' anywhere, she'll always leave it on the long finger to get ready."

"I don't believe in puttin' things on the long finger; I likes to get a thing done."

General. (Joyce, 114).

look out, also "look up", used with blue, hard, meaning bad prospect; with blind implying carelessness or lack of caution.

"Girl, the fishery wasn't good this year. Tis a blue look out for the winter."

"Twas a blind look out anyway, to have a bridge in that condition."

General. (Cf. Joyce, 217).

mail cow, in Mobile, Bauline, Cape Broyle, Renews; millyeen, in Calvert; miley, in Trepassey; mooly cow, in Cappahayden; a cow with no horns. (maoilín, 709, a hornless cow; see also Joyce, 291, maol, mail, maileen, moileen, moilie, a hornless cow).

maneen, n a boy in the early teens; a boy who acts older than his age, tries to join in the conversation of men, etc.; often used with contempt.

"A proper maneen, now he is."

"Go way you little maneen; you'd think you were an old man the way you're talkin'."

General. (Joyce, 90, A boy who apes to be a man - puts on airs like a man - is called a maneen in contempt).

mickeleens, n fairies.

Fermeuse, obs. (Cf. Mícheailín, Micilín, 740, dims. of Michael, Mícheál).

moider, v addle, confuse as a result of noise or pestering, mix up, torment.

"I used to be nearly moidered with 'em."

"Will ye sit down? Ye'd moider anyone, ye would."

"When there's heads [of fish] up in the meda you'd be moidered."

General. (Cf. Ua Broin, 177, moyther, to bother, bewilder).

more, "some --- more", other, others.
 "Some nights the stars are plenty, more nights they're not."
 "Some calls 'em bazeberries an' more calls 'em cranberries."
 General. (Cf. Joyce, 296).

more times, sometimes.
 "Sometimes I likes it, more times I don't."
 "There's times I can remember things I dreams, more times I can't."
 General. (Joyce, 296, sometimes).

moryeen, n a fertilizer made by mixing offal of cod-fish with bog.
 "They're makin' moryeen down by the flake."
 "They're makin' a moryeen pit."
 Mobile, Bauline, Renew, Cappahayden. (Cf. múirín, 771, mould, turf mould -- Mayo --, mire).

most, adj "the most thing", "the most time", "the most way",
 i.e. usual.
 "That's the most thing they used to call that, 'the rack'; the most thing you'll hear now is 'comb'."
 "The most way that I hear physic used is for a horse or a cow."
 General. (Cf. is mó, Loch., 146, most; Rosc., 130).

nose, n "His nose is broke", said of an older child when another baby is born into the family.
 Mobile, Calvert. (Cf. Joyce, 200).

? not, "not bad", i.e. good; "not too good", i.e. not very good.
 "I made over a thousand dollars in three months."
 "Boy, that's not bad."
 "How's your mother this morning?"
 "Girl, she's not too good."
 General. (Joyce, 17-18).

? not, "not too many", i.e. very few.
 "There's not too many goin' to school down there now."
 "I can't afford now to get that coat spoiled. I haven't got too many down there to wear."
 General. (Joyce, 19).

oanshik, n a foolish or senseless person; one who is awkward, lazy or stupid.
 "Boy, Mike is the real oanshik, isn't he?"
 "John sure reared two big oanshiks."
 General. (Cf. óinseach, 813, a fool, esp. a female fool, a foolish, giddy woman, a harlot).

of, prep in a prepositional phrase at the end of an assertion to refer back to the subject.
 "He's one hard skate of a man."
 "She's one flamer of a woman, God forgi'e me for sayin' it."
 General. (Cf. Rosc., 129; 136; see also Joyce, 42).

of, prep in; used of eye, ear, leg, etc.
 "He was blind of an eye."
 Trepassey. (Joyce, 42, That old horse is lame of one leg).

of, prep used with a noun or objective pronoun in exclamations.
 "Well, the screeches o' Mary when she saw it!" i.e. how she screeched!
 "Boy, the thin of 'im!" i.e. how thin he is!
 General. (Cf. Rosc., 139).

offer, n attempt.
 "He med an offer to ket[catch] me, but I hauled clear of him."
 "He never med no offer to get out o' the car."
 General. (Joyce, 298, an attempt; see also Clark, 34).

omadawn['ame,da:n], n a simple or foolish person.
 Bauline, Renews, Ferryland, Cape Broyle. (amadán, 38, a fool).

omalore, n a simple, foolish person; one to be pitied.
 "Look at that old omalore."
 Cape Broyle, Calvert. (amalóir, 38, a silly person, a dolt).

on, prep indicating relationship, especially location on a person's body.
 "She had a face on 'er like the divil, when she come to the door."
 "That man have an awful crit on 'im, God help us."
 General. (Cf. Rosc., 148).

- on, prep "put --- on him", call or name.
 "They put that name on 'im when he was a young fella."
 "Briens they were always called. Some of 'em didn't want O on 'em."
 General. (Cf. Rosc., 150).
- on, prep used with noun or personal pronoun, indicating something to one's detriment or disadvantage.
 "Her mother died on her."
 "I wouldn't lie down in the day, 'twould spoil the night on me."
 "The two of 'em went asleep on me."
 General. (air, Joyce, 27, on, before a personal pronoun or before a personal name and after an active verb, to intimate injury or disadvantage of some kind, a violation of right or claim; see also Loch., 135).
- on, prep with reference to one getting an illness or ailment.
 "I better take that medicine now; I don't want to get that complaint on me again."
 Mobile. (Cf. Loch., 135; see also Joyce, 30-31).
- out, prep "out of", because of a resemblance to.
 "You'd know her out o' the Careys."
 "I knew him out of his mother as soon as I saw him."
 Mobile. (Cf. Rosc., 159).
- pity, n "Tis a pity you wouldn't", a satirical retort.
 "I'm goin' to give you back that shovel you gave me."
 "Well, 'tis a pity you wouldn't."
 "She's a lovely hand to write."
 "The divil's pity she wouldn't, she went to school long enough."
 Mobile, Cappahayden. (Joyce, 12).
- polltogue, n a clout, a smack; more commonly, a kick.
 "'Give him a polltogue', a man in Renews used to say."
 Cape Broyle, Aquaforte, Renews, Portugal Cove, Trepassey; prob. obs. (palltóg, 831, a blow, a thump, a punch, a thrust as with fist, elbow, etc.)
- poor mouth, n "makin' the poor mouth", pretending to be poor or complaining of poverty to get sympathy, money, used clothing, etc.
 "She comes to the house glawvawnin' about her hard luck, makin' the poor mouth."
 Bauline, Cape Broyle, Ferryland. (Cf. Joyce, 304).
- puck, n a blow from the horn of a cow, ram, goat, etc.
 "Boy, the cow gave me some puck, that time."
 "I wouldn't like to get a puck o' her horns."
 General. (poc, 850, ... a prod or "puck" of the horn).

- puck, v give a blow with the horns.
 "Mind that cow, she pucks you know."
 "She didn't try to puck you, did she?"
 General. (pocaim, 851, I strike -- as a ball in hurley--).
- puss, n the face or mouth; used scornfully.
 "Look at the puss o' that."
 "I saw your ugly puss at the window."
 General. (pus, 867, a lip, the lips, the mouth -- only. in contempt --).
- rack, n a hair-comb, often in the compound "rack-comb".
 Generally known. (raca, 869, ... a rake, rack or comb; ... raca mo chinn, my hair-comb).
- rack, v comb hair.
 Generally known. (from n rack).
- rag, n "She's a rag on every bush"; used of a woman of loose morals.
 "I wouldn't be seen with the like o' her; she's a rag on every bush."
 Witless Bay, Calvert. (Cf. Joyce, 310).
- rawney, adj thin with big bones, thin with high cheek bones; generally in the phrase "rawney-boned".
 "He was a big rawney-boned fella."
 General. (ránaidhe, 877, thin or lank).
- right, "had right to", should, or ought to.
 "You had right to bring up the car."
 "You had right to be answerin' a few questions for this woman."
 General. (Cf. ceart, Loch., 167, duty, right).
- right, "right or wrong", to express determination.
 "She thought, right or wrong, to get that little box Mike had."
 "She's goin' to persuade him, right or wrong, to do it her way."
 Mobile, Witless Bay. (Joyce, 313, earnestly).
- rushes, n "If I had a few green rushes to put under your feet!", sometimes "green boughs"; used to a visitor to show that he is welcome.
 "If I had a few green boughs, I'd put 'em under your feet."
 "Well, if I had a few green rushes, I'd spread 'em under your feet."
 Generally known, used in Cape Broyle. (Cf. Joyce, 176).

- sadogue, n a soggy cake, bread that does not rise.
 "Do you want a bit o' that sadogue?"
 "They'd say, 'That's a real sadogue', if it was soggy."
 Witless Bay, Bauline, Cape Broyle; rare. (sodóg, 1081, a cake, esp. one baked under the embers, a soda cake).
- says, v "says I", "says he", etc.
 "'Gar, yes boy', says I, 'and I'm the very fella'."
 "You're not gettin' through your business by talkin', chewin' the rag, says you."
 General. (Cf. air sé, Joyce, 134, says he).
- scrawd, n a small, undernourished child; a child small for his age.
 "What a little scrawd, he is!"
 Fermeuse. (scráidín, 985, ... a diminutive person).
- scrob, n a scratch from nails or claws, especially a scratch from a cat.
 "Just look at the scrob the cat gave me."
 General. (scráib, 985, a scrape or scratch).
- scrob, v scratch with the nails or with claws.
 "She scrobbed the face off o' me."
 "Don't let that cat scrob you, mind."
 General. (Cf. scráib, 985, a scrape or scratch).
- self, in reflexives, e.g. herself, himself, themselves.
 "We were havin' a great time for ourselves, an' with the same himself come in."
 "Herself now'll be afraid up there be herself, I allow."
 General. (Joyce, 46-47).
- sharoosed, adj embarrassed, disgusted, annoyed, ashamed, surprised or shocked.
 "He's sharoosed now about bein' away last night."
 "His wife must be some sharoosed when it all come out."
 "He played the thing back an' I heard me own voice; well wasn't I sharoosed."
 General. (Cf. searbhas, 1009, bitterness, severity, sourness; bitter feeling or words, disgust, contempt; ... tá searbhas agam ort, I am thoroughly displeased with you; ... pron. searús).

sheebeen, n sometimes "sheeven", an establishment where liquor is sold illegally.

"Mag had a sheeven up there for years."

Generally known, used in Mobile and Cape Broyle.

(sibín, Joyce, 320, an unlicensed public-house or alehouse where spirits are sold on the sly).

shogarawn, possible shokarawn, n "on the shogarawn", idle, out of work, doing nothing.

"Girl, he's gone on the shogarawn."

"The Briens are all now on the shogarawn."

Calvert, Mobile. (seachrán, 997, wandering, straying; ... ar seachrán, wandering, astray, out of work).

shool, v move quietly away, go off slowly and noiselessly so as not to attract attention.

"He shooleed over towards the door and slipped out."

General. (siubhlaim, 1045, I walk, move, go, travel, go on with a thing, march, roll, traverse, pass over, visit, depart, vanish).

show, v "show me", give me, hand me; often to a child, of something dangerous, sharp, etc.

"Show me them matches."

"Show me that knife, show. That's an awful thing to be foolin' around with."

General. (Cf. Joyce, 37-38; see also Clark, 46, hand over something).

sign, n trace, a small amount; of liquor, tea, etc.

"You'd never see a sign on 'im."

"There's not a sign o' fish the summer."

"I don't want much; just give me a sign."

General. (rian, 895, ... a trace, track, resulting sign or mark; see also Joyce, 323, a very small quantity - a trace.

signs, "so signs", sometimes "signs on"; as a result, consequently.

"She always tended on 'em hand and foot, so signs, they can't do a hand's turn for themselves."

"He bet the divil for the drink, signs on, he lived no time."

General. (rian, 895, ... a trace, ... tá a rian ort, you show the effect of it -- as drink, etc. -- ;

... "signs on it" -- Anglo-Irish -- ; see also O'Neill, 279).

slawmeen, n a dirty, untidy person; a woman who is careless about her appearance, home, etc.
 "She's the real slawmeen that one. Her house is not fit to go into."
 Generally known. (slaimín, 1048, shoddy; al. a slattern).

slawmeky, adj careless, untidy, dirty.
 "Pad was always slawmeky."
 Mobile. (Cf. slam, 1049, ... dross, slime, dirt -- al. slám --).

slawms, n rolls of wool slightly carded to remove the matted parts.
 "I was all last night makin' slawms."
 Calvert, known. (slám, 1049, a lock or handful of wool, tow, etc.; a flat, loose roll of carded wool).

sleeveen, n a sly person, a rogue.
 "He's a real sleeveen, that fella. He'd steal the two eyes out o' your head."
 General. (slibín, 1055, a sly fellow).

smadder, v spill or spread carelessly.
 "Look, girl, you have paint smaddered all over that."
 Mobile. (Cf. Joyce, 328).

? smadder, "smadder me eyes", exclamatory phrase introducing a retort.
 "Smadder me eyes, boy! Do you think I'm a liar?"
 Mobile, Trepassey; known.

? smadder, "lick for smadder", used of a fight or argument in which two parties fare equally; of wastefulness, giving no thought to the future in times of abundance.
 "Well a couple o' the boys had lick for smadder there last night."
 "With them, 'twas always lick for smadder while it lasted."
 Witless Bay, Bauline, Cape Broyle, Ferryland.

small clothes, under clothing.
 Witless Bay, known. (Cf. Joyce, 328).

smithereens, n fragments of a broken object; always plural.
 "He made smithereens o' me new teapot."
 "I dropped the plate an' it went in smithereens."
 General. (smidirín, 1066, a small fragment)

- snig, v drain the milk of a goat or cow to the last drop.
 "They used to snig the goat."
 Witless Bay, obs. (sniogaim, 1075, I milk the very last drop, I milk after the teat-flow ceases, drain completely).
- sniggins, n the last part of the milk from a goat or cow.
 "I have to go back to get a few sniggins."
 Cappahayden, obs. (Cf. sniogadh, 1075, the last and richest part of an animal's milk; the act of milking the very last drop).
 Maybe v snig with English derivational ending.
- so I did, added to give emphasis to an assertion.
 "I went in an' I picked a gallon o' berries, so I did."
 Generally known, used in Cappahayden and Portugal Cove. (Joyce, 10; see also Rosc., 204).
- some, "some --- more"; see more, more times.
- sook, sookie [sʊk], n a cow or calf, a call to a cow or calf, a babyish child.
 "Put in the sookie an' milk her, will you."
 "Here sook, sook, sook."
 "Look at the little sookie, goin' around suckin' on a bottle, an' he goin' on four."
 General. (suc, 1142, call to a young calf; a calf).
- souls, n "Stoop from in under, poor souls", said by someone who throws a pan of water out through a doorway at night; souls of the dead are believed to congregate under the eaves after dark.
 Cappahayden, known. (Cf. Joyce, 15, Beware of the water).
- spaugs, n sometimes "spraugs", the feet, usually with contempt; generally plural.
 "Haul your two big spaugs out o' the way."
 "You'll have to hoof it over the harbour tonight in your two bare spaugs."
 General. (spág, 1091, a leg or foot -- only.
contempt -- , a paw, a clumsy or lame leg, a long, flat foot).
- ? spree, n a dance, a party.
 "When I was young an' we'd go out there to a spree, we'd always have a good time."
 Fermeuse, known; used in Portugal Cove. (O'Neill, 280, a party in a house, an entertainment).

stalk [stɔlk], n stubbornness or sulkiness in a horse.
 "My horse took a stalk and he kicked out of his harness."
 General. (stailc, 1119, ... a sulk, sulkiness).

stalky ['stɔlki] general, stawlky ['stɔlki] in Ferryland, staleky ['stɔləki] in Bauline, sterriky ['sterɔki] in communities around Mobile.
 adj stubborn, hard to manage; or a horse.
 "I wouldn't buy that foal because the mare was stalky."
 "Years ago, Larry had an old sterriky horse."
 (stailceach, 1119, sulky, stubborn, fierce, stormy; see also capall stailce, a sulky horse).

starrigans, n used of wood: little sticks (Bay Bulls); small, dry wood (Mobile); small, green "var" trees (Cape Broyle); dried, stunted wood (Calvert); dead, dry, weather-beaten wood (Ferryland); green wood (Aquaforte); stumps and roots of trees (Fermeuse); small, crooked pieces of wood (Portugal Cove-Trepassey).
 "I got nothing today but a few old starrigans."
 "I cut a load of old green starrigans."
 (Maybe starragán, 1123, a projection, an obstacle; a clumsy or ramshackle article, etc.)

stiel [sti:l], n a rip, tear, slash.
 "Who put that stiel in your coat?"
 Ferryland. (stiall, 1125, a weal or slash).

stookawn [stu'ko:n], n a dull, stupid person.
 "Don't mind him; he's a real stookawn. He can't understand you."
 Generally known. (stuacán, 1135, ... al. a foolish fellow).

streel, n a slovenly, untidy person; usually a woman.
 "She's an awful streel around the house."
 "Girl, tidy yourself up, and don't be goin' around like the real streel."
 General. (straille, 1131, ... anything untidy or confused, a wench, an untidy girl).
 Note also the following entries.

streel, v to drag on the ground, to lag behind.
 "A spell ago, the dresses used to streel on the ground an' they walkin'."
 "He was streelin' along behind us all the way home."
 General. (from n streel).

streelish, adj careless or untidy about one's appearance.

"That's a woman wasn't streelish."

General. (from n streel).

Sunday, n "Come day, go day, God send Sunday", used of a lazy or easy-going person.

"I don't mind that big lazy oanshik; tis come day, go day, God send Sunday with him."

General. (Joyce, 191).

tack, n "I haven't a tack", any clothes.

"I haven't got a tack to put on me."

Witless Bay, Cape Broyle, Calvert, Ferryland.

(i dtacha' n éadaigh, 1153, in need of clothes).

talk, v "You'd be talkin'!", used in surprise or wonder.

"Yes, she really did that."

"Well you'd be talkin'! You'd hardly credit it would you."

General. (Rosc., 170).

tap, n a bit; used of work.

"I never did a tap today."

"I haven't a tap done yet."

"That fella never struck a tap the winter."

General. (Ua Broin, 184, a stroke of work).

tayscawn, n a small amount of wood, hay, liquor, etc., half a load.

"Twas a poor path today; I only had a tayscawn."

"That drop he gave me, sure that was only a tayscawn."

Generally known. (taoscán, 1174, act of flowing, state of being fairly full, a spill or flush, a fair quantity or measure, a small quantity in a large vessel, ... an incomplete load).

teeveen, n a leather patch on the upper part of a boot or shoe, sewn on with needle and thread.

"I must go put a teeveen on that boot."

Generally known. (taoibhín, 1172, a side-patch, a side-wedge, a splinter of stone, a small addition).

tell, v used to introduce a statement.

"Hold on till I tell you now,"

"An' do you know now I'm goin' to tell you one thing; she's the nicest woman in the harbour."

"Oh yes, an' I tell you something else; she knows how to mind her own business too."

General. (Cf. Joyce, 13).

? thank, v "I thank you", used at the end of an assertion to give emphasis to the fact stated.
 "She got another new dress on 'er today, I thank you."
 "'Here', he says, 'I got a present for you'. A present, I thank you, and he payin' me me own money."
 Mobile, Bauline, Cappahayden.

that, emphasis.
 "He's the divil's own imp, that's what he is."
 "That's a fine young fella, that."
 General. (Cf. Joyce, 10-11; 40).

the, a superfluous article, often used with diseases.
 "I only had the one queen, the queen o' hearts."
 "That used to cure the toothache for 'em, a spell ago."
 "That ice is just like the glass."
 General. (Joyce, 82-83; see also Loch., 131).

thing, n "if it's a thing", if.
 "Tis just like a cellar; if it's a thing you leaves it barred up, the floor'll rot off of it."
 "Certainly if 'tis a thing they're tryin' to get it done, they'll do it as quick as they can."
 Mobile. (Cf. Rosc., 124).

tilly, n a small amount given over the quantity purchased, e.g. when buying molasses.
 "Now give me a little tilly."
 "I'll give you a tilly over."
 Generally known; in Fermeuse, tally. (tuille, 1271, act of adding to or increasing; an increase, addition or extension, added measure).

time, n "It will take him all his time", will take a long time, will require the utmost exertion.
 "It'll take him all his time to get the better o' that complaint he have."
 "I will take 'em all their time to get that built again Christmas."
 General. (Joyce, 205).

time, n "the time", when.
 "The time I was down there before, she wasn't home."
 "They used to have 'em here the time the rabbits were plenty."
 General. (an uair, Joyce, 37, 'the hour' or 'the time').

- 'tis I, "I'm the one".
 "Oh my God, 'tis I can tell about it."
 Aquaforte. (Cf. Joyce, 10).
- to, prep compared with.
 "Now, they're old people to me."
 "You're only a child to me, sure."
 General. (Cf. Rosc., 154).
- to, prep "to it", i.e. it has; of a concrete object.
 "That lamp, there's a big wick to it, you know."
 Aquaforte. (Cf. Rosc., 153).
- towards, prep compared with.
 "The size o' him now towards last year."
 "I'm grand now towards I was."
 General. (Joyce, 343, in comparison with).
- twig, v understand what is meant, catch on to.
 "I gave her a hint, but she never twigged."
 Witless Bay. (tuigim, 1270, I understand, comprehend,
 discern, realize; see also Joyce, 158).
- wady buckedy, n a board or plank balanced on a rock,
 doorstep, etc. as a see-saw for children.
 "... put that on a rock then, one on each end of it,
 and you'd go wady buckedy."
 "We used to have a wady buckedy board fitted up."
 Mobile, Bauline, Ferryland. (Cf. cranndaidh
 bogadaigh, 258, a see-saw; bogadach, 105, moving,
 stirring; see also Ua Broin, 185, a see-saw).
- way, "by way of"; see harm.
- way, n "no way", not well, not at all.
 "Girl, I'm no way since I had that cold."
 "Oh, she's no way stuck up, but she's kind o' distant
 with people."
 General. (Cf. Rosc., 123).
- way, n "the way", so that, in order that.
 "They used to put frosters in the heels o' the boots.
 They'd leave 'em down so far, the way you wouldn't slip
 of a frosty day."
 "I'll fix that gate tomorrow the way she won't get over
 it any more."
 General. (Joyce, 36).

- way, n "What way?", how?
 "What way do ye work up there now, on shifts, sure?"
 "I heard your father was shockin' sick. What way is he now?"
 General. (Joyce, 36; see also Rosc., 123).
- what, "What you'd get of it, if you got there, 'twould be just as well stop home."
 "They're more of a black than what they are a blue."
 "He's not as fat as what he was, is he?"
 General. (Cf. Rosc., 211).
- whisht, v & exclam be quiet, be silent, stop talking;
 i.e. about something so unpleasant you don't want to talk or think about it.
 "Oh girl whisht! I had it some bad."
 "For the Lord's sake, whisht about it."
 General. (tost, 1237, silence; ... bi id' thost, be silent, hold your tongue!; see also Joyce, 349).
- with, prep by, denoting agency.
 "Tis shockin' to have him out goin' around like that; the poor thing might be killed with a car."
 "He was struck with a squall."
 General. (Cf. le, Rosc., 142, with; He was killed with a motor-car; see also Loch., 135).
- with, prep used at the ends of imperative phrases;
 loosely, you are talking nonsense.
 "Girl, go 'way with you, don't be talkin' so foolish."
 "Get out o' that with ye and don't be tormentin' the child."
 Mobile. (Cf. Loch., 144, go way with yourself; see also Rosc., 143).
- with, prep used with an objective pronoun to indicate one's interests; what one uses, thinks about, talks about, etc.
 "Tis all John with her; you'd think John was goin' to do it all."
 "Tis all the boys with them two now; they thinks o' nothing else."
 General. (Cf. Rosc., 141; see also Loch., 144).
- worem, n common pronunciation of worm.
 General. (Cf. Rosc., 69).

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